THE COMMUNIST

. XIII SEPTEMBER, 1934 No. 9

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Approaching the Seventh World Congress and the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Founding of the C. P. U. S. A.

By EARL BROWDER

SOON the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International will be held. It will meet in a world situation deeply charged with the explosive materials of revolution and war. Even the bourgeois press and statesmen speak openly of the imminence of new catastrophes. They no longer discuss how these may be avoided, but only how they may be able to shift the heaviest burdens onto other shoulders.

All this is twenty years after the first World War—the "war to end all wars"—which heralded the *general crisis of the capitalist world system.*

The Seventh World Congress will gather together the forces of proletarian revolution throughout the world. It will further clarify and concretize the Communist answer to the problems this world situation places before the working class and oppressed masses of every land.

This is, at the same time, the period of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Approaching the problems of the Seventh World Congress from the angle of special American problems, a brief glance back over these past fifteen years of our history will have a special value. It will throw light which will give a clearer view of the present moment and tasks.

THREE PERIODS OF PARTY HISTORY

The fifteen years history of the C.P.S.U.A. present three distinct periods, which roughly approximate the three periods of post-war capitalist development throughout the world, each of which gave the dominant impress upon the Party. For the capitalist system

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these three periods were: (a) Revolutionary upsurge that followed the war, under the influence of the Russian Revolution (1918-1923); (b) Partial stabilization of capitalism, defeat of the revolution in Central and Western Europe (1923-1928); (c) World economic crisis, new revolutionary upsurge all over the world, the passing over to a new cycle of revolutions and wars (1928 to the present). We are now living in the midst of the third period.

What did these three periods mean for the development of the C.P.U.S.A.?

The first period, of revolutionary upheavals after the war, was for the United States a period of the struggle to gather all revolutionary forces for the first time into a single party—a party of proletarian revolution, a Communist Party. First, and basically, this meant the gathering together of the Left-Wing forces in the Socialist Party—before all, those who during the war had held aloft the banner of internationalism, who had forced through the St. Louis Convention of 1917 the anti-war resolution under the leadership of C. E. Ruthenberg (who later became the first generally-recognized leader of the Communist movement in the U.S.).

The overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party membership responded to the events of the period by repudiating the old opportunist leadership, by supporting the lead of the Bolsheviks in the formation of the Communist International (March, 1919). But this old S.P. leadership (Hillquit, Berger, Cahan, Lee, etc.) brutally and cynically overrode the membership. Before the S.P. Convention, at the beginning of September, 1919, and at the Convention, they expelled the vast majority of these members, and threw their delegates out of the Convention with the help of the Chicago police. Just recently, Louis Waldman cynically admitted that in 1919 the great majority of S.P. members went with the Left Wing, when in the fight against Norman Thomas and his majority in the recent Detroit Convention, Waldman declared:

> "We did not permit the Communists to swerve us from our purpose years ago. Numerically, they were much larger than the Left Wing group is today. But it is not a question of numbers, but of principles." (*New Leader*, June 16, 1934).

The expelled Left Wing formed the basic nucleus of the present Communist Party of the U.S.A. But already the young Communist Party was divided, before birth, and it was born as twins—the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. This indicates the main problem of the whole first period—the struggle for unification in one party of all revolutionary forces.

The world revolutionary upsurge marking the birth of the Com-

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munist International affected not only the relatively small membership of the Socialist Party. It gathered in the vast masses of the American proletariat also. This was expressed in the stormy strike movement of 1918-1920 (the Seattle general strike, the miners' general strike, the outlaw movement of the railroad workers, the great steel strike, etc.). But the Socialist Party, and the Communist Parties that emerged from it, were not closely, organically, bound up with the colossal events of the class struggle at home, nor with the international revolutionary socialist movements. It was isolated from the masses, and it was theoretically immature. That is why the Party in its formative years went through such prolonged infantile illnesses.

The first heavy blows of reaction descended quickly upon the infant parties. The Palmer raids, and the ensuing deportation terror in 1920, increased the difficulties by driving the Party underground for almost three years. Formally the new parties began with 50,000 to 60,000 members. But these were loosely organized, more like our present-day Workers' Clubs, I.L.D., etc., than like a Party. They had not been consolidated. From 80 to 90 per cent of them were scattered by the deportations and terror. Thus, the formative period became one of a painful, difficult task of gathering together, under illegal conditions, the scattered fragments and the hitherto unorganized members, untrained in revolutionary theory and action, and cursed with a heritage of sectarian tendencies and factional feuds.*

During this period, the Communist Party not only fought for and obtained formal unification of its forces, not only did it fight for and win an open, legal existence, but it also gathered around itself the best of the old, traditional, revolutionary forces of the country that had been for long outside the Socialist Party. These were drawn mainly from the forces of the pre-war Syndicalist League (workers in the A. F. of L. unions), the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), and the Socialist-Labor Party (De Leonists).

This formative period may be said to have closed with the formation, in early 1922, of the Workers' Party of America, under which name the unified, illegal Communist Parties emerged into an open legal existence. With this, the Communist Party entered the second period of its development. This was a period in which the Party

* The usual anti-Communist disparaging contrast of "50,000 members in 1919, but only 25,000 in 1934", it should be noted, is deliberate deception. The "membership" of 1919 is more properly compared with the 400,000 to 500,000 present followers of the C.P. in the more loosely constructed mass organizations.

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was struggling against its basic weaknesses—isolation and political immaturity; struggling to win the basic characteristics of Bolshevism —roots among the masses, and a grasp of revolutionary theory. The Party became the leader of all the healthy currents of struggle among the masses. It was the leader of broad, active Left-Wing movements in the trade unions. It made its first decisive steps in this direction by drawing in a group of old-time militant trade unionists, headed by William Z. Foster. This group was an earlier outgrowth of the Socialist Party, but, in parting company with the opportunist leadership years before, had fallen under the influence of syndicalist tendencies.

During this time the Communist Party began seriously to absorb and master the teachings of the Russian Bolsheviks, of Lenin, and to apply them to American conditions. To this end, it had to fight against and overcome those elements in its own leadership who represented, and stubbornly fought for, the old theories, practices, and attitudes of the Second International, of social-democracy. This struggle had two crises, in the expulsion from the Central Committee (and later from the Party) of J. B. Salutsky (now J.B.S. Hardman, editor of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Journal *Advance* and member of the American Workers Party of Muste & Co.) and of Ludwig Lore (then of the N.Y. German daily *Volkszeitung*, now on the staff of the *New York Post* and member of the Muste Party).

The necessary, difficult, and painful struggle for rooting the Party in the daily life of the masses, the simultaneous struggle for theoretical clarity in a Bolshevik program, and the struggle for the unification of all revolutionary forces into one Party, proceeded against great obstacles in the ensuing years. Partial stabilization of capitalism and the "prosperity" which followed had propped up the power of reactionary officialdom in the trade unions. While the Party was formally unified and moving toward mass work, within the Party the unhappy legacy of factionalism and sectarianism had not been destroyed; they reasserted themselves in the form of, and through, a regrouping of all old factions into two main camps within the single Party. These two factions came to be represented by Foster and Ruthenberg.

These two factions, whose struggles hampered the Party for years, were not the creations of the leaders after whom they were named. They originated out of the historical circumstances of the Party's formative period. Nevertheless, their struggle, however much it masked itself behind principled issues, was an unprincipled one. This inner struggle was an expression of the immaturity of the Party, of its inability to rise above and overcome its weaknesses,

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of its lack of Bolshevization, of its lack of unity of theory and practice. Only in an immature Party could there have existed for so long a division of the Party into two camps under the banners of "practical men" and "theoreticians". With all theoretically-inclined Party members rapidly gaining a rich practical experience in the daily struggles, and with the experienced trade union fighters rapidly being educated in Bolshevik theory, such an unnatural division must soon have burned itself out. This was especially true since also the influence of the Communist International was throughout this period energetically combating this factional cancer, and fighting for its elimination, for the complete unification of the Party.

And truly, the factional divisions were in process of disappearance in 1926-27, until the sudden and untimely death of C. E. Ruthenberg (1927), occurring at the moment of the climax of the international fight of Trotzkyism to dominate the Comintern, and just before the rise of the Right-Wing faction on an international scale, interrupted for a short time this healthy course of inner-Party life. Jay Lovestone, an unscrupulous adventurer, who, for years, had maintained himself by dexterous manipulation between factions and stimulating factional passions, seized the oportunity to gain control of the Party leadership by a wild resurrection of all the old factional flags and battle-cries.

The brief interlude of Lovestone's regime, about 18 to 20 months, was one of feverish, unprincipled factionalism, and the hot-house growth of oportunist tendencies, practices, and theories. He came to leadership through the slogan of preserving the Ruthenberg line, although he himself, in the months immediately preceding Ruthenberg's death, had headed an intrigue to remove him from his position as head of the Party. He remodeled the current work of the Party to conform with what Bertram D. Wolfe expressed as "a program for Prosperity", that is, an adaptation of the Party to capitalism. After the Sixth World Congress, when Cannon suddenly blossomed forth as an exponent of Trotzkyism in America, he turned this issue into a factional weapon to destroy the Foster group, despite the almost unanimous rejection of Trotzkyism by the entire Party. After the Sixth World Congress, emboldened by his connections newly established with the international Right Wing, with which Bukharin, then Comintern leader, was associated, Lovestone came boldly forth with the theory of American exceptionalism. According to this theory, the U.S. was not facing an imminent serious crisis, but, on the contrary, was entering a period of unexampled prosperity and expansion, which could only be compared to the Victorian age of British imperialism, and which Lovestone declared would in future history be known as the "Hooverian age". This

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theory, closely connected with the Trotzkyist theory of U.S. as a super-imperialism that was putting the rest of the capitalist world "on rations", was on echo of the Second International's deification of Henry Ford and rationalization as opening up a new life for world capitalism, a period of "planned economy" through monopoly, State capitalism, and the elimination of all capitalist contradictions except that between nations.

This was only ten months before the great stock exchange crash that marked the beginning of the world economic crisis. In these days of 1934 it sounds like a fairy tale to recall that the then Secretary of the Communist Party could seriously put forth such fantastic nonsense.

At the Sixth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., in March, 1929, Lovestone was already fighting a vicious battle against the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of C.I., in agreement with the international Right Wing (Brandler in Germany). This Right Wing rejected the forecast of looming crisis and revolutionary upsurge, and all measures to prepare the Parties for impending battles. But Lovestone, typically unprincipled, carried out the fight under the slogan of a fight *for* the Sixth World Congress. His unprincipledness reached its height when, in the midst of the Sixth Convention, feeling his position endangered by the evident solid loyalty of the membership to the C.I., he came forth to the Convention with the proposal that the C.P.U.S.A. should demand of the Comintern the expulsion of his political associate, Bukharin, at that time still among the Comintern leadership.

Lovestone's fantastic unprincipledness was responsible for the suddeness and rapidity of his downfall as a leader. The C.P.U.S.A. had already matured far beyond the stage where such opportunism and infantilism could long persist in the leadership. Especially when, with the danger of Trotzkyism crushed, the Communist International moved to liquidate the rising Right-Wing tendencies in preparation for impending world crisis, Lovestoneism was doomed in the C.P.U.S.A. Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Comintern took up the American problems thoroughly, and expressed its conclusions in a few sharp clear words in an Open Letter to the Party membership. The membership responded in one unanimous movement throughout the Party organization. It repudiated Lovestone, his opportunist theories and international Right-Wing connections, with a rapidity and thoroughness perhaps unexampled in Communist history. Within four months he was left with the ragged remnants of his cohorts to the number of about two hundred, mostly aspiring trade union bureaucrats or young collegians bearing the wisdom of the ages in their stupendous intellects. A few months

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later the uproar of the gigantic Wall Street crash drowned out the lesser crash of the collapsed theories of Lovestone and the international Right Wing.

PERIOD OF REVOLUTIONS AND WARS

Here begins the third period of our Party's history. The Party is finally unified, not only in form but also in its inner life, on the basis of a clear Bolshevik orientation. From 1929 to 1933, the Party accumulated a rich experience of leadership in mass struggles, more and more illuminated by the growing grasp of Bolshevik theory. With all its weaknesses, which are only slowly being overcome, the Party moved forward steadily. In this brief article, we can only glance over a few of the outstanding achievements.

United at last, after ten years of inner struggle, our Party began a steady forward movement that has continued without any major setback down to the present. At the Tenth Meeting of the Central Committee in the beginning of October, 1929, the resolution adopted clearly forecast the economic crisis that broke before the month was over. At every major turn of events since then, the Party has been able to adjust correctly its policies.

In January, 1930, when all camps from Hoover to the Socialist Party, Lovestoneites and Trotzkyites were unanimously proclaiming that what had happened was only a temporary stock exchange flurry, the Central Committee gave a thorough analysis of the events as the beginning of a deep-going and world-wide economic crisis that would shake the foundations of capitalism. Already the Central Committee put forward the demands for relief to the growing army of unemployed and for unemployment and social insurance, and issued the call for action, which on March 6 brought a million and a quarter workers into the streets of American cities in a series of mighty demonstrations that jolted the whole capitalist class out of its complacency and forced the recognition of unemployment as the dominant issue of American life. Towards the end of March, under Communist leadership, was held the first Unemployment Conference, with delegates from over the country that launched the nation-wide movement of organized Unemployed Councils, that was crystallized in a National Convention in Chicago on the following July 4. On May Day, 1930, the Communist Party carried through the first series of gigantic May Day street demonstrations seen in America since the 1890's, in most cases having to break through the threat of suppression that was backed up by the greatest police mobilizations the country had ever seen. In New York City, for example, Police Commissioner Grover Whalen banned the demon-

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stration and boasted that he had 19,000 police and 8,000 firemen to suppress the demonstration. On April 29, the renegade Ben Gitlow, Communist Party candidate for Vice President in 1928, denounced the Communist Party's decision to go through with the May Day march at all costs, as an "adventurist provocation of police violence" and called upon the workers to prevent the Communist Party from marching. Late on April 30, Police Commissioner Whalen, under pressure of the mighty mass movement that had been roused by the firm leadership of the Communist Party, withdrew this prohibition and graciously permitted the parade that had announced it would march in spite of him. This was the period of "the fight for the streets", in which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the American working class for the first time won in most sections of the country, to some degree, the rights of public demonstration. In the fall of 1930, our Party initiated and led the first of a long series of local and State hunger marches, that roused the force which rapidly brought into existence all of the existing measures of unemployment relief.

In the spring of 1931, our Party went to the rescue of the nine unknown Negro boys in the obscure Alabama hamlet, Scottsboro, and began a battle, which continues down to the present day, preventing the electrocution of the Scottsboro boys, making their cause famous throughout the world, and rousing around this fight a nation-wide movement for Negro liberation that has stirred the whole 12 million Negro population of America, and began the historic penetration of the reactionary "Solid South".

In 1930 and 31, the Party began the struggle against the reformist, opportunist theory of the impossibility of successful strikes in the period of the crisis (a theory most energetically propagated by Trotzky and the Trotzkyites), predicted the imminent rise of a strike movement, and was soon, in May, 1931, effectively leading the first great strike of the crisis period, the Pennsylvania-Ohio miners' historic battle that lasted ten weeks and involved 30,000 miners

In December, 1931, the Party initiated and led the great National Hunger March, which shook the country and made Unemployment a national issue.

In May, 1932, the Party initiated the veterans' Bonus March, which grew so rapidly and spontaneously that it swept over our heads and into the hands of the demagogue, Waters; but, nevertheless, in the July days, contributed greatly to the final discrediting of the Hoover regime, and took the veterans' movement out of the current of fascization.

In 1932, the Party carried out an unparalleled election campaign,

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behind its candidates, William Z. Foster for President, and for Vice President, James W. Ford, the first Negro to be a candidate for such office on the ticket of a nation-wide political party. In this presidential campaign, the Party distributed over a million pamphlets, over seven million political leaflets, and spoke directly in meetings to more than a million workers.

In December, 1932, the Party led the second great National Hunger March, in which 3,000 delegates from all over the country broke through Hoover's military mobilization, marched to the steps of the Capitol and delivered to Congress the workers' demands for the enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Bill and the granting of Federal Unemployment Relief.

During this whole period, up until the Spring of 1933, the Party had been growing and becoming Bolshevized. The Party membership, while carrying on tasks multiplied manifold, and bearing greatly increased financial burdens, had grown in numbers from 7,545 at the Seventh Convention in 1930, to 16,814 average for the first half of 1933, measured by weekly dues payments. The political level of the Party was immeasurably higher, as demonstrated by the quality and quantity of its literature.

The Party had become a Party of action among the masses, but it still was extremely weak in the factories and in the trade union field, which means among the most decisive strata of the workers. The Party at this time conducted a drastic stock-taking. It made a fundamental re-examination of all its work. It brought the results of this re-examination to the Extraordinary Party Conference in July, 1933.

The result was the famous *Open Letter*. The *Open Letter* inaugurated a period of intensified growth of the Party, which brought the membership, at the time of the Eighth Convention, April, 1934, up to 24,500. It increased the number of our shop nuclei from 140 at the time of the Extraordinary Conference up to 338 at the Party Convention and well over 400 at the present moment. It opened up a period of unparalleled expansion of the revolutionary trade unions and a new growth and deepening of the revolutionary oppositions in the A. F. of L. It began a serious turn towards the decisive strata of workers in the basic industries and in the most important industrial sections and largest factories.

The Extraordinary Party Conference in July, 1933, was again a stage of severe political testing of the Bolshevik qualities of our Party. The Roosevelt New Deal policies had just emerged as a completed system. The N.R.A. was just adopted. The country was flooded with all the rosy illusions of the New Deal honeymoon. Norman Thomas was hailing the Roosevelt "revolution" as a step

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towards socialism and the best policies that could be expected in favor of the working class under a capitalist system. Our Party was able to go boldly against the current and to analyze clearly and completely the true nature of the New Deal policies. On the basis of its correct analysis it was able to formulate and immediately begin to carry through policies of mass struggle against the N.R.A., against the industrial codes, for an uncompromising fight for the immediate interests of the workers, which quickly resulted in multiplying the membership of the revolutionary unions three-fold, and began a rapid expansion of revolutionary opposition work in some sections of the A. F. of L.

The period from the *Open Letter* of the Extraordinary Party Conference in 1933, down to our Eighth Convention in April, 1934, is amply known to even our new Party members. The reports and decisions of the Eighth Convention, available in cheap and voluminous pamphlets, tell the story. This article is intended only to provide the setting of a glance backward over our fifteen years historical development.

On the road to Bolshevization we have taken only the first few firm and decisive steps. We are finally and definitely out of the swamps of the pre-Bolshevist stage of Party development. But we are still fighting to complete the process, and must fight for a long time to come. Now our problems are on a higher stage.

In the next issue of *The Communist*, we will continue this discussion by taking up, in a more detailed manner, the development of revolutionary strike experiences and policy, the new problems of the trade union movement, some questions of the new stage of the struggle for the united front and the struggle against social-fascism, and the fight against rising fascism and the danger of imperialist war.

In all united front activities, the Communists must always grant the right to all other groups, and reserve the right for themselves, of mutual criticism. It is permissible and correct to make specific agreements of non-criticism during the actual carrying through of joint actions agreed upon, within the scope of the specific agreement, so long as these agreements are loyally adhered to by all sides. But the Communists can never agree to be silent, to refrain from criticism, on an breaking of agreements for struggle, on any betrayal or desertion of the fight. Any such agreements would not be contributions to unity, but rather to disunity. (Earl Browder: *Report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.*)

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Force the Enactment of the Workers' Bill!

By I. AMTER

THE demand for the enactment of social insurance legislation is growing with tremendous rapidity. This can be seen (1) in the big spurt in the number of endorsements of the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, and the importance of the organizations supporting it; (2) the militant opposition to it by the officials of the A. F. of L. and their slanderous circulars and statements against it; (3) the pretense of new "studies" on the question promulgated by the Roosevelt government; and (4) the vicious attack on any and all kinds of unemployment or social insurance by leading industrialists and capitalist institutions.

The continuation of the crisis, without any prospect of alleviation, is the basis of the growing demand for partial security through social insurance. It must be noted that there was a brief, but energetic, swing upward between March, 1933, and July, 1933, immediately after the inauguration of Roosevelt. This was followed by a sharp slump, since there was no basis for such increased production except the capitalists' fear of an increased cost of production in the form of wages and the taking advantage of lower wages to stock up. From July to October, 1933, the slump continued, so that the government had to make more "orderly" provision for the 16,000,000 unemployed. This it did through the C.W.A. program, which lasted only four months, but which enabled the government to put $400,000,000 in circulation and thus create more "confidence". During the spring months of this year there was some gain in production, partly in prospect of strike movements in the auto, steel, and other industries. When these particular movements did not materialize owing to the treacherous policies of the A. F. of L. leaders, and the industries were stocked up, production crashed. Thus, within a few weeks steel production dropped from 75 to 22 per cent of capacity. At the present moment, the situation is one of lower production than in August, 1933, and the prospect of an autumn rise is quite remote. The promise is now held out for *next spring*.

The situation has been accentuated by the farming situation. The government did not even pretend that the income of the farm-

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ers, in spite of all "protective" legislation by the government—plow-under, bonus on processing, etc., would net the farmers a greatly increased income. It was assumed that $500,000,000 might be added to their income, but this has been completely wiped out by the drought, which, as even the government admits, will cost the farmers at least five billion dollars. This will mean a tremendous increase in the cost of living for the workers. The farmers' plight is most serious, with a drop in income from 19 billions in 1919 to less than 4 billions in 1933. Out of each dollar spent by the consumer for farm products, the farmer received only 36 cents in January, 1934.

WORKERS STRUGGLE AGAINST N.R.A.

The mood of the working class has been expressed in the gigantic strike struggles that have taken place in the last 17 months. If last year the strikes were for higher wages and in part directly against the National Industrial Recovery Act, this year the workers are actuated even more by the same motives. Although the wage scales were raised for the unskilled workers, they were not increased for the skilled. Hours were cut, so that if a somewhat larger number of workers are now at work than a year ago, and the payroll is higher, the weekly wages in many cases are lower. In view of the sharply increased cost of living—*21½ per cent in thirteen months*—and the present soaring prices, which will rise precipitously in the coming months as a result of the drought, the unrest among the factory workers is developing very rapidly.

This has been intensified by the speed-up. Thus, Leonard P. Ayres, well-known economist and banker of Cleveland, reports that from 1924 to 1929, per capita production rose 15 points, while per capita earnings gained only about 5 points. He further states that during the period of March to July, 1933, production per worker "*staged another astonishingly great advance*", *without, as Mr. Ayres adds, the workers receiving higher wages.* There has been a sharp recession in production, but at the same time the introduction of new machinery and the application of speed-up continue in all industries. This means the permanent elimination of tens of thousands of more workers from these industries, to be thrown among the millions who have been dislodged by structural unemployment.

IS UNEMPLOYMENT DECLINING?

How many unemployed are there in the country? A lively discussion is now taking place among the government, the A. F. of L. executives, and various capitalist institutions. For some time, the figures of unemployment published by the A. F. of L. were ac-

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cepted as practically official by the U.S. Department of Labor. A few months ago, the government decided no longer to use the year 1926 as the basis of computation, but the period of 1923-25. The purpose of this was clear. The level of employment in those three years was lower than in 1926. Hence the degree of unemployment in the present crisis would not be so "abnormal" if compared with 1923-25 as with 1926.

The A. F. of L. declared that in July there were 10,300,000 unemployed, this number being higher than that of last October. The United States Chamber of Commerce declares that "reliable data" indicate that today there are less than 7,000,000 unemployed. In fact, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce comes to the conclusion that this number is only 5,000,000 above the normal number of unemployed, which includes 2,000,000 "unemployables".

There are *no statistics* on unemployment; they are based purely on "estimates", without regard to special conditions. Thus, the A. F. of L. has no connection with agricultural or domestic workers. At any particular juncture when reports are issued, the A. F. of L. officials base their figures on reports from the international unions. This is a faulty method, as above indicated. In addition, the A. F. of L. considers the unemployed working on relief jobs as "employed" workers. It does not include in its calculations the 7,000,000 unemployed youth reported by U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Zook—boys and girls between 14 and 20 who have not obtained work in industry.

There are fully 15,000,000 unemployed in the country and the number is now rapidly rising. The precipitate drop of production to the extent of 20 per cent in the month of July indicates the trend. The applications for relief are another indication. Thus, in New York City 77,000 were added to the relief list in June, while in August the daily increase was 1,537. Mayor LaGuardia admitted on August 15, that there has been no decrease in unemployment during his administration, which began last January.

Whom do the unemployed represent? According to Senator Borah, they represent

> " . . . close to 40,000,000 people in the United States either depending on charity or living close to the want line." (*N. Y. Times*, Aug. 10, 1934.)

Borah's estimate is too low—the number is closer to 60,000,000.

Frances Perkins, following up the report of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in a misleading statement on Aug. 14, tried to imply that the number of unemployed is about 7,065,000. She reports that 6,951,000 have been assisted in obtaining jobs since July, 1933, and that only 7,000,000 remain unplaced. But Miss Perkins in-

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cludes among these 6,951,000 the men who were placed on the long defunct C.W.A. jobs, and who today are either on relief rolls or entirely destitute.

The Department of Commerce, on the other hand, reports that the business index dropped 11 per cent below a year ago. Standard Statistics Co. calculates the drop as much as 20 per cent below 1933.

GOVERNMENT METHODS AND STANDARDS OF RELIEF

The government methods of providing relief or work for the millions of unemployed are totally inadequate. Nearly two million unemployed are working on projects—city and county. Their wages fluctuate between 25 and 50 cents an hour; in some cases they receive 24 hours of work a week, in others the number is still less. In some States all workers have to work for relief, the bonus being 10 cents an hour. In others, those working on city jobs get the amount allotted for home relief, while those working on federal projects receive $12 a week.

In establishing the C.C.C. camps, the government indicated what standard it considered proper for the American workers. *One dollar a day*. And although this may seem unconvincing to the average worker and was called "Communist propaganda", we have but to examine the wages of workers on federal projects, under the Public Works Administration, to ascertain what wage the government considers proper. In the month of May the average pay of 370,000 workers on federal projects building public roads, public buildings, naval vessels, etc., was $48.65 *a month* (Monthly *Labor Review* of the U.S. Department of Labor.)

The relief standard in the "best" cities and towns is close to the hunger line. In New York, the standard for a family is about $40 per month—a sum which must cover food, rent, light, heat, clothing, and medical attention. The amount drops to such inconceivable levels as $1 *for two weeks for a family of seven in Covington, Ky.* The relief situation is becoming progressively worse. The cities and States refuse to tax the rich, and the Federal government refuses to advance funds for relief. The whole relief system is breaking down. The government and the capitalists placed hopes in the N.I.R.A., which is not fulfilling its "aims" as far as rehabilitating industry is concerned, but has only extended the effects of the crisis on a somewhat higher level.

GROWING MISERY OF THE MASSES

How inadequate the relief is may be gathered from two sources. In New York, Teachers College of Columbia University calculates that a family of five requires $9.45 per week for a "wholesome and

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adequate" diet. In Michigan, according to the Dept. of Labor and Industry, a similar family requires between $25.65 and $33.20 per month. Nowhere is this standard for food alone even approached. A consequence is the steady elimination of actual necessities of life. Thus, Grace Abbott, chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau, states that in a survey of railroad engineers "91 *per cent of the families had cut milk purchases more than* 50 *per cent and* 27 *per cent of them had reduced milk purchases* 100 *per cent.*" (*Philadelphia Record*, June 10.)

This has been due in part to unemployment, low relief, part-time work, and the constantly rising cost of living. Thus in four years, *retail sales fell* 47.4 *per cent*—from $49,114,000,000 in 1929, to $25,700,000,000 in 1933. True, there was an increase of sales in 1934, but a leading official of a food concern, Krasne, characterizes the situation as follows:

> "Thanks to President Roosevelt and his temporary expedients, we have experienced the *best year* in our eighteen years of business. *When I say the best year, I mean from the standpoint of profit.* The volume has not been as heavy as in previous years. *This situation of smaller volume and larger profits is excellent from our own standpoint*, but I am impelled to consider the effect of advanced prices on the public." (*N. Y. Post*, July 14, 1934.)

The effect is clear from the acts of desperation, increase of crime and prostitution, insanity, starvation, decreased vitality of the population, lowering of births, etc. Five years of crisis, with the level of existence of those who had always been in want reduced even below that low level, but the standard of millions more lowered to a level at which they could never have conceived they would have to live—this is the record. According to Dr. Carmen Haider of New York:

> *"In terms of actual nourishment the workers are worse off than they were a year ago. . . . In fact, according to a survey of grocery store expenditures, the total amount of foodstuffs consumed for the month of April*, 1934, *was actually less than that bought in April of last year, the bottom of the depression.*" (*N. Y. Times*, July 12.)

PRESENT GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

In order to meet the growing discontent, with methods reminiscent of Hitler, who also is "reducing" unemployment, the Roosevelt government has devised the following forms of work:

1. *C.C.C. camps*, in which more than 650,000 unemployed youth already have received military training, and some 30,000 veterans have been given work. The idea is now being considered of having *all* youth serve an apprenticeship in such camps, for a two-

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fold purpose: first, of keeping them off the labor market, thus leaving more jobs available for adults; and secondly, in order more thoroughly to inoculate the youth with patriotic propaganda and give them military training at the expense of relief funds, rather than of the military budget.

2. *Transient camps*, of which there are more than two hundred, scattered throughout the country and in which the hundreds of thousands of transient single men receive food, shelter, and 90 *cents a week*. In these camps, which are under similar military direction, the workers are compelled to do work for which union wages should be paid—such as road-building, paving, etc., thus depriving "normal" labor of an opportunity to earning a living.

3. *Camps for women.* Here young women are not given productive work but are trained to be efficient housemaids, etc., and upon leaving the camps are eligible to domestic jobs the pay of which is as low as $5-$10 a month.

4. *Subsistence homesteads* of which there are already nearly 50 and to which hundreds of thousands of unemployed will be transported as part of the decentralization plan of the government. This plan has long been sponsored by Henry Ford as part of his scheme of making it difficult to organize the hundreds of thousands of auto workers normally employed in the industry. With the simplification of production, it will be very easy to take the three hundred thousand coal miners who have been permanently dislodged from the industry, and hundreds of thousands of railroad, building trades and other workers, place them in small factories to be established on the homestead, pay them relief rates for their work and thus lower the standard of living of the American workers. This is part of the program enunciated during the Hoover administration when the clamor of the capitalists rose high in the demand that American labor come down to the standard of European labor. Thus, the capitalists said, American industry would be able to compete with European industry.

The workers on the homesteads will raise their own food and out of their earnings pay off the price of the homestead, interest, etc. This plan a la Hitler will relieve the government of responsibility for providing relief and will at the same time help to lower the standard of living of the whole American working class.

In addition, the drive against the foreign born, the elimination of non-citizens from work in public institutions, the denial of suffrage to those in relief camps (according to the declaration of Harry Hopkins, federal relief director), the demand by prominent capitalists that all relief recipients be denied the vote (which is already part of the pauper's oath that in various parts of the country the

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authorities are trying to impose upon the unemployed before giving them relief), the continued vicious discrimination against the Negroes, show the whole tendency of the government. This is also part of the ballyhoo campaign to demonstrate that "unemployment is decreasing".

FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM A FARCE

The government also has an alleged plan of public construction. Through the Federal Housing Administration and the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the government proposes to make loans to home owners so as to enable them to renovate their homes and also to erect the millions of homes that are needed in this country. Just like the loans to the farmers through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, these loans are based upon many conditions that the home owners with a small equity cannot meet. Thus the whole program becomes a joke. Nevertheless, it is held forth as a great bait to win the two million building trades workers in this country. The Third Convention of the National Unemployment Council disclosed in a resolution that 67 *billion dollars'* worth of construction is needed in this country only in the form of homes, hospitals, libraries, schools, etc.—not of battleships and airplanes, which the so-called $3,300,000,000 "public works fund" of the United States government calls for.

According to the *Philadelphia Record* of May 3, 1934, it has been ascertained through the city planning commission that

> *"Over 14 per cent of the city's population lives in a slum section. A great many of the people who live in these blocks are vocationally engaged in the building industry, and are now living on relief. These houses are altogether unfit for human occupation."*

This is typical of the situation as it now exists.

To sum up what the government may be driving towards we quote from an article in *Liberty* magazine of August 11, by the fascist Bernarr MacFadden, who says:

> "There should be no such thing as unemployment. Every one should be insured a job not necessarily for the wages he might previously have earned, for that is usually impossible, but there should be work of some kind for every one who desires to earn enough to pay for the actual necessities of life.
>
> "And if there is work of some kind for every victim of unemployment, idleness could be penalized. Those who refused to work could be denied food—that would soon make workers of everybody. Every community should have some public improvement, or, if noth-

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ing better, *a rock pile*, or labor of some kind for every unemployment victim." (Emphasis Mine—I. A.)

MacFadden does not propose that the government shall furnish *productive* work for the employment of the millions of unemployed. He is concerned only about the "unnecessary" expenditures for relief. The unemployed have not asked for charity. They have been clamoring for work—not work on a rock pile, or shoveling leaves, but work that will be of benefit not only to themselves but to society. The country is in dire need of construction. The government pretended that the $3,300,000,000 public works fund was only the first stage in its building construction program. MacFadden intimates further that the unemployed do not wish to work. His use of the words "rock pile" indicates clearly that he puts them into the category of criminals. The unemployed demand work, but knowing full well that capitalism has reached a stage at which work cannot be provided for the whole working class, but that, on the contrary, five to ten million will not be reemployed in industry, the workers are demanding not rock piles but unemployment insurance.

Rock piles may be the climax in the program of the most reactionary section of the capitalists, but it is also basic to Roosevelt's program, even though he shrouds it with much demagogy.

CAPITALIST PROFITS RISE

While "predicting" and "forecasting" a rise in production during the coming months, the capitalists cannot conceal that during the very months in which the conditions of the workers have been steadily growing worse, their profits and dividends have not suffered in this, the beginning of the sixth year of the crisis. Thus in the second quarter of 1934 224 corporations announced a gain of more than 37 per cent in net income over the same period of last year—from $156,678,000 to $214,676,000. Standard Oil of New Jersey reports a net profit approximately of $3,500,000 per month, this having begun in the middle of 1933. 639 corporations report increased dividends of $132,909,000 in July as compared with $127,985,000 in the same month of last year, these dividends including 27 extra dividends. The Colgate Company increased its dividends in six months from $765,000 to $2,416,000, or 215 per cent over last year; the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. from $11,277,000 to $23,553,000 in the same period; General Motors from $48,068,000 to $69,586,000; the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. from $560,000 to $2,617,000, an increase of nearly 500 *per cent*.

The crisis obviously has not affected the largest capitalist concerns in this country, while it has plunged the workers and toiling

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farmers into the deepest misery, with the outlook of greater degradation for the whole toiling population. The maneuvers of the government, aided by the leadership of the A. F. of L., the effort to show its concern by again "studying" unemployment insurance; its proposals to remodel the National Recovery Administration, to leave the "regulation" of industry to industry itself, demonstrate the real aim and purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Its aim was *not* to aid the working class, not to extend the rights of the working masses, but, as stated by the Communist Party, to concentrate power in the hands of the most powerful, reactionary groups of Wall Street; to lower the conditions of the working class by spreading hunger, by instituting mass terror, by helping in the organization of fascist organizations, such as the vigilantes, crusaders, silver, brown and other shirts, and by smashing all militant working class organizations. This is part of the fascism and war program of the U. S. government.

No wonder, therefore, that Hitler and Mussolini congratulated Roosevelt on his program, and that more recently the *Deutsche Bergwerkzeitung* of Germany pronounced Roosevelt a "disciple of Hitler". In his demagogy and in the plans of the government for suppressing the working class, Roosevelt is following the methods of fascism. This is being accentuated by the sharpening of the crisis, from which there is no prospect of emergence except through war, which marches upon us with seven-league boots.

INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK DARKER

To quote from well-known capitalist authorities, Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, the well-known economist, says:

> "The volume of industrial output has fallen by distinctly more than the normal seasonal percentage. *Unemployment is growing and the burden of public relief payments is increasing in even greater degree.* There has been rather serious decline in the security market. *Building construction, except for public projects, is at a lower level.*
>
> "Business sentiment is clearly beset by doubt, and its policies are being guided by self-protective caution. Business has become thoroughly conservative. . . . *The third quarter of* 1934 *has definitely become a period of general business recession.*" (*N. Y. American,* August 13.)

Or further:

> "*Business levels now are down approximately where they were in* 1931 (*the middle year of the Hoover administration*) *having slumped this summer below the average of one year ago.*" (*N. Y. World-Telegram,* August 3.)

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The codes have not aided employment. Thus,

> "Shorter hours have *decreased employment* in the cotton garment industry, rather than having the desired effect of the recovery program, it was brought out in a resolution at the Southern Garment Manufacturers Association convention (in Atlanta, Ga.). The percentage of employment was 13½ *per cent more in July*, 1933 *than in March*, 1934, clearly setting up the fact that shorter hours have *not* increased employment but decreased employment." (*Daily Record*, June 15, 1934.)

Finally, Dr. Willard Thorp, until recently director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, of the U.S. Department of Commerce, stated on June 8, 1934 (Columbus, Ohio, *Citizen*):

> "It must be frankly recognized that the ultimate goal of balanced economic relationship is still in the future. . . . Experience has shown *competition and the price system to be insufficient to preserve the balance*. . . . The unemployment problem, which gives evidence of becoming chronic, price disparities and the dullness of the capital goods or heavy industries, are *major unsolved problems*."

ROOSEVELT DEMAGOGY NO HELP TO MASSES

Thus it is demonstrated from the facts of the development of the crisis, from the statements of capitalist economists, from reports of government institutions, that the N.I.R.A. has failed to meet the promises of the Roosevelt government, to "increase the buying power of the masses, to return the unemployed to the factories, to ease the burdens of the farmers".

On October 31, 1932, during the election campaign, Roosevelt declared with all solemnity:

> "As to immediate relief, the first principle is that this nation owes a positive duty that *no one shall be permitted to starve*." (Emphasis mine—I.A.)

That it may not be thought that this was only an election maneuver to win votes from the Republican Party, let us quote his radio speech on June 28, 1934:

> "The primary concern of any government dominated by the humane ideals of democracy is the simple principle that in a land of vast resources *no one should be permitted to starve*." (Emphasis mine—I.A.)

If this corresponded with fact, we might consider that Roosevelt was keeping his election promises. How far this is from the

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truth is sharply brought forth in a United Press wire from Philadelphia in the *World-Telegram* of August 16, 1934:

> *"Hundreds of hunger-crazed squatters on a city dump braved blazing gasoline and a United States marshal's pistol to fish* 1,000 *gallon cans of poisoned prunes from a flaming pyre.*
>
> *" 'Who cares? It's something to eat,' one man shouted in reply to the warning that the food was tainted.*
>
> *"Ignoring the pistol and the blazing gasoline poured over the pile of cans, they tried to fish the fruit from the flames with long poles. Some succeeded. Violent gastric disorders were predicted for them."*

These are the facts, not Roosevelt's rosy pictures of "recovery", demagogic allusions to the pre-Rooseveltian era, "pledges" for the "future". *Growing hunger on a mass scale* promises to affect 60,000,000 or more persons this winter!

In face of this situation, Roosevelt once more produces the magic charm out of his bag—the "promise" of unemployment insurance. This is done for the purpose of keeping the masses from struggling against the N.I.R.A., from demanding jobs or adequate relief; and primarily to prevent struggle for the only form of social security under the present system, through the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill.

MORE "PROMISES" OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

That all is not well in the mind of Roosevelt and the Wall Street bankers is clear from the message of Roosevelt to Congress on June 8. In his message, Roosevelt said:

> "Among our objectives I place the security of men, women and children of the nation first. This security for the individual and for the family concerns itself primarily with three factors. People want decent homes to live in; they want to locate them where they can engage in productive work; and they want some safeguard against misfortunes which cannot be wholly eliminated in this man-made world of ours."

After declaiming about what the 73rd Congress accomplished toward this end, Roosevelt continues:

> "If, as our Constitution tells us, our Federal government was established, among other things, 'to promote the general welfare', it is our plain duty to provide for the security upon which welfare depends. Next winter [after more than two years of promise!—I.A.] we may well undertake the great task of furthering the security of the citizen [!] and his family through social insurance."

On June 28, speaking over the radio, after asking the people of the country whether they were not "better off than a year ago",

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and after emphasizing once more the duty of government, Roosevelt declared that,

> ". . . the third principle is to use the agencies of government to assist in the establishment of means to provide sound and adequate protection against the vicissitudes of modern life—in other words, social insurance."

This is a repetition of his "promise" during the 1932 election campaign.

What is the nature of the social insurance that Roosevelt has in mind? On June 8, 1934, he said:

> "I believe there should be a maximum of cooperation between the state and the Federal government. I believe that the funds necessary to provide this insurance should be raised by *contribution rather than by an increase in general taxation.* Above all, I am convinced that social insurance should be national in scope, although the several states should meet at least a large portion of the cost of management, leaving to the Federal government the responsibility of investing, maintaining and safeguarding the funds constituting the necessary insurance reserves. I have commenced to make, with the greatest of care, the necessary actuarial and other studies necessary for the formulation of plans for the consideration of the 74th Congress."

Speaking at the national conference of Catholic Charities, some time before Roosevelt's message, Frances Perkins laid the general plan for this insurance scheme. She proposed a "compulsory" system of insurance, which was to be put upon a "*sound actuarial*" basis and "*strictly limiting all benefits*". Premiums would be paid by

> ". . . *contributions wholly by the employer, or by the employer and employee jointly, or by government participation where states desired it, but the cost should be assessed as one of the industrial hazards for which industry itself must provide.*"

These funds should be,

> ". . . looked to to provide for supplemental compensation to be paid to *workers out of jobs through no fault of their own in the future.*"

ROOSEVELT SUPPORTS WAGNER-LEWIS BILL

On March 23, Roosevelt's letter to the House Ways and Means Committee gave endorsement of the Wagner-Lewis Bill for "unemployment insurance". Thus, what Roosevelt had in mind were the provisions of this Bill. This Bill does not provide insurance for the present army of unemployed and various categories of workers, such

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as agricultural, domestic, transport workers, nurses, civil service employees, teachers, etc. It provides benefits of $7 a week for 10 weeks and is put on the "sound actuarial basis" of requiring 5 per cent of the employers' payrolls, which sum may be deducted from income taxes paid by the employer. This is *not* unemployment insurance, but a subterfuge for insurance, and furnishes in addition nothing for such eventualities as sickness, accident, old age or maternity. From Roosevelt we learn also that *only citizens* will be provided with insurance, this being a direct attack on the 6,000,000 non-citizens in this country.

Thus, although Roosevelt is "studying" the question, has set up a "social security commission" with Frances Perkins as its chairman, and has dispatched Harry Hopkins to Europe to "study" the European systems of insurance, but of course not that of the Soviet Union, in order to put the American system on a "sound actuarial" foundation, the great "promise" remains the Wagner-Lewis plan, possibly with some modifications of no value to the millions of unemployed and part-time workers.

The State of Wisconsin has already established an insurance scheme, which in some respects is even worse than the Wagner-Lewis Bill, although in general it conforms to the lines accepted by Roosevelt. More than 125 bills were introduced during the past year in the State legislatures, which indicates the demagogy with which the whole problem is being approached, and above all the growing demand among the masses for unemployment insurance.

GROWING DEMAND FOR WORKERS' BILL

This is to be noted in the widening campaign for the Workers' Bill, which is penetrating deeply into the ranks of the workers of basic industry. Among the most recent endorsements of the Workers' Bill are those of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the Amalgamated Iron, Tin and Steel Workers, the United Textile Workers. This followed upon the endorsements of such important organizations as an eastern conference representing 18,000 members of the International Association of Machinists, another representing 10,000 members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers, District No. 13 of the United Mine Workers, districts of the Brotherhood of Painters, the Newspaper Guild, etc. When it is remembered that the General Executive Council of the A. F. of L. took especial pains to communicate with locals and central labor bodies, condemning the Workers' Bill as being Communist and "unconstitutional" and pleading for support of the Wagner-Lewis Bill, it is obvious that when important organizations go on record

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in favor of the Workers' Bill, the need of genuine unemployment and social insurance is being keenly felt.

At the same time, other unemployment organizations have been compelled by their rank and file to endorse the Workers' Bill. The Socialist-controlled Workers' Committee of Chicago and the Workers' Unemployed Union of New York, after resisting for a long time, have been forced by the endorsements of their membership over the head of the leadership also to endorse the Workers' Bill. Similarly, the National Unemployed League, controlled by the Musteites, who last year endorsed the Workers' Bill but refused to carry on any campaign in support of it, were forced to endorse it at their recent convention.

This growing movement explains why Roosevelt again speaks so pathetically about the need of "social security" and the "right of the people" to "social insurance". The work of the Communist Party and the revolutionary organizations in popularizing the Workers' Bill and bringing it to the front in all struggles, has taken root. Roosevelt, in order to forestall this development, has decided once more to dedicate time to "study" the question.

ROOSEVELT WILL "CRACK DOWN"

Roosevelt *seems* to be carrying on this campaign in face of a growing opposition of leading industrialists to all and every kind of unemployment insurance, as being an unnecessary burden on industry, as tending to promote idleness and unwillingness to work, etc. Roosevelt thus is playing his usual demagogic role. He is the "great champion" of the "forgotten man", compelled to "crack down" on the capitalists in this field. This "cracking down" will be just as effective as the attacks of the N.R.A. on Weir, Budd, etc. It is part of the same game that, when bidding for power, Hitler played in Germany. Thus, Harry Hopkins, who is now in Europe studying the unemployment insurance systems, stated in Paris, according to the *N. Y. Times*, August 16:

> *"The United States must work out a system of its own in accordance with American conditions of life. There is enough work available to keep every American busy for twenty-five years. Americans will not stand for a dole and we are going to put them to work on great public projects and pay them decent wages. There is no loss of a person's self-respect or morale under such a system."*

It is unnecessary to analyze the bluster of Mr. Hopkins about putting Americans to work on projects that will last twenty-five years. It would appear, however, that the Roosevelt government is preparing a "capitulation" before the onslaught of the capitalists in their opposition to unemployment insurance.

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This opposition is not inconsequential. The Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., embracing such people as Cyrus McCormick, Jr., Owen D. Young, etc., considers unemployment insurance a "costly experiment". The New York Board of Trade pronounces it "unsound". Owen D. Young wishes to return to the "old insurances, which were secured only by the effective contributions of the worker himself". Young has in mind merely job insurance—insurance provided by contribution of the workers and employers for such workers as today have jobs and tomorrow may be unemployed. This plan was in operation in the General Electric Works and completely collapsed in the early years of the present crisis. The New York County Lawyers Association, a powerful organization, declares that unemployment insurance is "illegal". Thus is being built up the barrage against unemployment insurance in any form, while Roosevelt, the champion, "above the battle", carries on the fight.

WM. GREEN ALSO "CHAMPIONS" UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

In this respect he is mimicked by his agent, Wm. Green. It is well known that at the Vancouver Convention of the A. F. of L., in 1931, Green pronounced unemployment insurance "below the dignity of American labor". By the time of the next convention in Cincinnati, in 1932, Green and the General Executive Council had reversed their position. They did not endorse genuine unemployment insurance, but put themselves in the position of favoring insurance in order better to fight against the Workers' Bill. But the deepening of the crisis has also taught Green how to use demagogy. Green, the outspoken supporter of the N.I.R.A., who called it a "new charter of labor", now declares that if the N.I.R.A. does not function better, it may be "necessary for society to take over the means of production". Green, who declared that unemployment insurance is "degrading" and "un-American", now declares that "a campaign is now taking form to spike the President's unemployment insurance plans". He states that the A. F. of L. is "preparing to fight and to throw the whole weight of its influence behind Roosevelt's program".

The reason is clear: the campaign for the Workers' Bill is growing, while the reactionaries are trying to line up all forces both among the capitalists and the workers against the Workers' Bill.

INTENSIFY STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' BILL

What are our next steps? Although the Workers' Bill has been before the workers for four years, nevertheless there are masses who do not yet know the Bill. Thus in New Jersey, a local

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of the A. F. of L. endorsed the Bill, but upon receiving a letter from Green, reversed its position, because there had not been a thorough discussion of the Bill. The Philadelphia Central Labor Council unanimously endorsed the Bill, but at a subsequent meeting reversed its position, the politicians mobilizing new forces and overawing rank-and-file delegates who were none too familiar with the Workers' Bill.

There should not be a single union, fraternal, veterans', farmers' or workers' mass organization of any character, not a shop or mine, in which, through *mass distribution* of the Bill, the workers are not familiarized with it. Through thorough discussion of the Bill, more fighters for it will be created.

MASS CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON

Local, county and State conferences, and marches, leading up to a *mass congress in Washington, in January*, 1935, upon the open- of the 74th U.S. Congress, are the next steps in the fight for the Bill. The conventions of the international unions, of State federations of labor, and of the A. F. of L. in San Francisco have been or will be the scene of battles for the Workers' Bill.

A publicity campaign of broad dimensions will be undertaken. During the election campaign all candidates are to be put on record with respect to the Workers' Bill. In the Communist election campaign, the Workers' Bill will be in the very center. No struggle should be allowed to take place without bringing in the demand for unemployment and social insurance and securing endorsement of the Worekrs' Bill.

We must have in mind that the enactment of the Workers' Bill will not come only through resolutions and wishes. It is based on struggle, and therefore by explaining to the workers in the shops and mines the importance of unemployment and social insurance to them—the insecurity of work, the hazards of occupations, accidents, sickness, the laying off of old men, etc—we must work towards the preparation of stoppages and *strikes* for the Workers' Bill.

The struggle must be taken into all unemployed organizations. The rejection by the National Unemployed League (Muste) and by the socialist-controlled unemployed organizations, of the united front proposals of the National Unemployment Council; their continual splitting of the ranks of the unemployed; and their failure to carry on any campaign for the Workers' Bill after they were forced to endorse it by the rank and file of their organizations—make it imperative that we intensify our work among the rank and file of these unemployed organizations.

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The Socialist Party has refused to endorse the Workers' Bill, but, on the contrary, has supported the Wagner-Lewis Bill. In New York, the Socialist Party endorsed the Byrne-Condon Bill, Louis Waldman carrying on a lusty campaign for it, although it would have been of no benefit to the unemployed. In Massachusetts, Alfred Baker Lewis had a bill introduced in the State legislature, which was so abominable that it was repudiated even by the representatives of the A. F. of L. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota has endorsed the Bill, but has done and will do nothing to mobilize the rank and file of the party for a real struggle for it. It becomes a real task, therefore, of the Communist Party members, units, Sections and Districts, to conduct a broad, energetic campaign among the membership of these parties to win them for active struggle for the Workers' Bill.

Basic to this campaign is the *building, strengthening* and *extending* of the Unemployment Councils. Forces must be assigned to this task in every locality—especially the industrial towns, and the united front movement be broadened. Steps toward merging the unemployed organizations should be systematically undertaken. The time is most ripe for this action.

With the continuation of the crisis, with the growing attacks on the conditions of the toiling masses, with the fascist attempts to break up all militant working class organizations—San Francisco, Bridgeton, N. J.—with the intensification of the campaign of terror of Green and Co. against the "Reds" and foreign-born in the A. F. of L., with the efforts to lower the relief and to put millions on forced labor, the fight for the Workers' Bill becomes a *central* fight. It must be coupled up with the struggle for jobs at union wages, for higher cash relief, against discrimination of Negroes, foreign-born, single and young workers, against evictions, against the rising cost of living. The growing demand for unemployment and social insurance must be crystallized into the *broadest united front mass movement* that we have yet formed.

The Communist Party units, Sections, and Districts must mobilize all forces, reach mass organizations that have not been touched with our propaganda or action; the fractions in the unions—A. F. of L., independent and T.U.U.L., in the unemployed organizations, veterans, farmer, professional and fraternal societies, must secure endorsements for the Workers' Bill, draw their organizations into the local, state and national struggles and thus make the demand for the passage of the Workers' Bill the *outstanding issue* before the United States Congress, which will compel Congress to enact it into law.

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Fifteen Years of Our Party

By MAX BEDACHT

SEPTEMBER 1 marks fifteen years of life of the Communist Party of the United States—fifteen years of growth and of struggle.

Our Party was born in Chicago on September 1, 1919. It was born twins. In Machinist Hall on Ashland Boulevard the Left wing delegates to the Socialist Party convention formed the *Communist Labor Party*. In Smolney Hall, on Blue Island Avenue, a convention called by the Left wing Council organized the *Communist Party*. This division in the ranks of the American revolutionists was caused by a lack of clarity about the tasks of a revolutionary party.

The revolutionary movement in the United States suffered in its early stages from a great deal of formalism. When members of the Frst International and friends of Marx and Engels planted the first seeds of scientific Socialism in America, they also planted that seed of abstractness. Both Marx and Engels repeatedly complained about this tendency in their letters to these friends.

The comparatively favorable conditions under which American capitalism developed, tended to foster strong capitalist illusions that were planted deeper and were maintained for persistently in the American proletariat than in any other working class. The American working class became, in a sense, the "aristocracy of labor" of the world proletariat. While in the capitalist countries of Europe the workers as a whole had already quite a definite conception of their class position, the American worker still cherished his capitalist and democratic illusions.

The first bearers of the seed of scientific Socialism in the United States did not sufficiently succeed in presenting Marxism as a guide to action. For them it was mostly a series of formulæ about class divisions, class struggles, historical materialism, etc. Thus, the teachings of Marx and Engels remained without clear relation to the immediate troubles and problems of the American workers. They remained generalities, and, as such, could not decisively influence the thoughts, the aims and the actions of the American workers.

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Yet the opportunities and the needs for such influence were very great despite the ideological backwardness of the American workers. The history of the American working class records an almost uninterrupted series of militant battles. The battles for the eight-hour day in 1886, the struggles of the steel workers in Homestead in 1892, the great steel strike in 1919, and the class battles of the American workers today, have demonstrated that the American workers have on various occasions not permitted their illusions to stand in the way of their efforts to solve their immediate problems.

Revolutionary Socialism having no solid roots among the American working masses, the rise of petty-bourgeois radicalism in the beginning of the 20th century found no difficulties whatever in making the Socialist Party its party. The very abstractness of the revolutionists allowed the muck-rakers to pass off as revolutionary realism their petty-bourgeois criticism of big capital. These petty-bourgeois ideologists, from Upton Sinclair to Charles Edward Russell, condemned revolutionary principles as foreign importations, and advanced their petty-bourgeois "Socialism" as the real thing. They dominated the Socialist movement and gave color and content to Socialist agitation, propaganda, and theory in the United States.

THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD THE FORMATION OF OUR PARTY

The sharpening of the class struggles on the eve of and during the World War gave impetus to the ever-existing Left wing of revolutionists in the Socialist Party. But the lack of a clear Bolshevik understanding in its ranks caused serious divisions in this Left wing. Some who least understood the problems of the proletarian revolution in America denied the need for struggle to solve the immediate problems of the American workers; they based their propaganda and tactics on the assumption that armed insurrection was the order of the day. This tendency found considerable response in the foreign language sections. In the West, especially among the strong section of the migratory workers, syndicalist tendencies showed themselves. There the opportunist social-democratic contention that the revolution would be made by the ballot caused a strong anti-political reaction. These workers, who are deprived of a vote by residential qualifications, were unwilling to have themselves disqualified as active revolutionists. Another group in the Left wing thought that the ideological backwardness of the American workers is not a problem of class-struggle action but of "education". They wanted to prepare the revolution in the class-room. They refused to see that the class-room for the proletariat is the class struggle. Then there were those who had some Marxist understanding of the problems,

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but were incapable of applying Bolshevik tactics. They did not see that the ranks adhering to the various Left wing tendencies were fundamentally healthy militant opponents of capitalism. They did not see that the Communist Party in America would have to be built up out of these elements by clarifying their conception and by defeating ideologically and removing the petty-bourgeois and opportunist leaders of their groups.

This lack of ideological unity of the Left wing led to organizational divisions. It caused a split in the Left wing Council and finally led to the formation of two parties.

SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERSHIP EXPELS MAJORITY

At the time of the St. Louis Convention of the Socialist Party, in April, 1917, the radicalization within that party had grown to a point that the Hillquit-Berger leadership found it necessary, in spite of their bitter opposition to it, to accept its anti-war resolution. That was the only means with which they could trick the Party into re-electing them as leaders. But that very trick contributed to the further enlightenment of the workers in the Party. The sabotage and betrayal of the anti-war decisions of the St. Louis Convention by these leaders led to a definite organizational crystallization of the Left wing within that Party. The Hillquit-Berger leadership then sought to maintain its control by expelling the majority from the Party. This is an interesting historic fact. It is especially a political illustration of the readiness to play dictators on the part of these last defenders of bourgeois democracy—the social-democratic leaders.

The Russian Revolution supplied the required ideological leadership to this crystallization of the Left wing in the S. P. Bolshevism in action, as the leader of the proletarian revolution in Russia, demonstrated to the revolutionists in this country the imperative need of Bolshevism as the guide of a revolutionary party. To build such a Bolshevik party became the conscious aim of the Left wing during 1918 and 1919. To formulate programmatically the aims of such a party was the purpose of the Left-wing conference in New York in June, 1919. The Conventions in Chicago in September, 1919, were called to establish such a Bolshevik party. But because of the reasons already given not one Communist Party was founded, but only two roots to one Party.

Bolshevik parties are not born; they develop. They arise and strengthen themselves out of the experiences of the struggles of the working class. Of course, the individual parties of the working class

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in the various countries do not depend entirely upon their own experiences. Proletarian struggles are international. The workers everywhere face the same enemy. The same problems arise for the workers everywhere. All these problems have local color, to be sure; but their origin is the same; their solution calls for the same fundamental measures. That is why experiences of a revolutionary party in any country become a lesson to the revolutionary proletarian parties everywhere. That is why international unity of the proletarian movement in theory and in action is an imperative necessity. That is why national and nationalistic division of the workers, as practiced by social-democracy, is the greatest asset to the power of the capitalists against the workers.

The international historic experiences of the working class are embodied in the science of the proletarian revolution. The Bolshevik Party of Russia was in 1919—and is now—a complete embodiment of this science. Its founder and leader, Lenin, was the first Bolshevik. Lenin developed the theory of Bolshevism. He developed it, in Comrade Stalin's words, as the Marxism in the epoch of the proletarian revolution. Basing himself on Marxism, which he further developed, Lenin crystallized the experiences of the fighting working class everywhere into the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution, into the science of Bolshevism.

With Leninism as a guide, our Communist Party in the United States could utilize from its very inception the experiences of the world struggles of the working class. It could shape its efforts to become a Bolshevik Party, with the Bolshevik Party of Russia as example.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL LEADS

Six months before the formation of our Party, in March, 1919, upon the initiative of the Bolshevik Party of Russia, the Communist International was organized in Moscow. Since then "orders from Moscow" have been the favorite scare-crow used by bankrupt capitalism to shy away any tendency on the part of their workers to look for Bolshevik leadership in their struggles. Needless to say, "orders from Moscow", as formulated by bourgeois propagandists, are a ridiculous fiction. The Communist International is a world association of revolutionary proletarian parties. Its Executive Committee and its Congresses are a clearing house for the experiences and a coordinator of the proletarian struggles the world over. Its resolutions are the result of the deliberations of representatives of all these parties, and are crystallized out of the actions and struggles of all of these parties. The experiences, the problems and the struggles

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of the American Party, therefore, make as much toward the contents of the "orders from Moscow" as the contents of these "orders" make toward the policies of the American Party.

The formation of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party was greeted by the ruling class of the United States with a reign of persecution and terror. The leaders of the Left wing Council in New York were indicted and convicted on charges of criminal anarchism. The delegates to the convention in Chicago were indicted, and the delegates to the Communist Labor Party convention convicted on charges of criminal syndicalism. The delegates to the California State Convention of the Communist Labor Party were indicted in Oakland, and several of them were convicted. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General in the cabinet of President Wilson, carried through several national raids. The most effective of them took place on January 2, 1920, and netted some ten thousand arrests throughout the land. Mass deportations were resorted to. The homes of active comrades were broken into by guardians of the law. Literature was stolen by the police and carted away by the truckloads from workers' homes and from the headquarters of workers' organizations. Membership in the Communist Party was declared a crime. This persecution determined the character of the first chapter in the history of our Party. By steeling the advance guard of the working class, it facilitated the unification of the revolutionary element. This unification was finally achieved under the guidance of the Communist International, when the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party united into the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Our Party tried to adapt itself to the reign of terror by organizing underground. Until then even the American revolutionists had shared some democratic illusions with the rest of the American workers. No thought had been given, no preparations had been made for the probable necessity of an illegal existence, which always faces the Party of the proletarian revolution. As a result, the first efforts of underground organization were in many instances, amateurish. On the whole, the mistakes made in these efforts led to serious political difficulties. Out of these difficulties arose within our Party the first determined struggle for Bolshevization.

BOLSHEVIK PARTY MUST BE A MASS PARTY

The need for the protection of the Party apparatus and its membership led to the hiding of the Party, not only from the authorities, but also from the workers. Yet, the most important

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prerequisite of the Party in the fulfillment of its duty to organize and lead the masses toward revolution is contact with the masses, is work among the masses.

As against this first Bolshevik need, a contrary theory developed within the Party. The Party was conceived of as a revolutionary officers' training school. This training was to be effected only through theory. The actual daily struggles of the workers were to be left to themselves. The future officers of the revolution were to earn their officers' spurs not as organizers and leaders of these daily struggles but by staying hidden for the purpose of abstract study, to emerge and take commanding positions only when the workers, through their own efforts, had arrived at the struggle for power.

This period of our Party ended with the second, Bridgeman convention in September, 1922. This convention was raided. Practically all of the leaders of the Party were indicted and arrested. That very arrest opened the eyes of our Party. It forced the Party to go to the masses. If the Party was to save itself, it had to become an organizer and leader of the working masses. Of course, it could be that leader and organizer also as an underground party. But to be any kind of a revolutionary proletarian party it had to be that leader and that organizer. Circumstances decide whether the Party is to be a legal or an underground Party. But under all circumstances the Party must be a mass party.

Discussions around these issues contributed greatly to making our Communist Party an American Bolshevik Party.

Even before this question was completely clarified, the Party had taken steps toward the establishment of a mass base. The first steps were taken toward the formation of an open party. First, the American Labor Alliance was organized. This rather narrow organism made room in December, 1921, for the Workers Party of America.

In the effort of our Party to establish the first roots in the working masses, the experiences of our international proletarian movement were of tremendous importance and value. As a result of discussing our problems with the leaders of other Communist parties and with the leaders of the Communist International, especially with Comrade Lenin, out Party leaders were corrected on many non-Bolshevik conceptions. Especially Lenin urged consistently that our Party study closely the problems of the American working class, that it organize the American workers, and that it root itself in American soil, and that it become an American Party.

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THE PARTY LEARNS BOLSHEVIK TRADE UNION WORK

This first period of our Party's existence was a period of serious struggles of the American working class. The need of reorienting the industries from war-time to peace-time set-up had caused an economic crisis. As in all crises, the capitalists at once made attacks on the living and earning standards of the workers. After the workers had paid with their blood for the war profits of the capitalists, they were expected to pay for their peace profits with hunger. The workers in the steel industry struck. The railroad workers developed serious battles to better their working conditions.

In spite of confused theoretical conceptions, our Party was fundamentally a party of fighting revolutionary workers. These workers were in the battles of their class. They were most active in the steel strikes and in all class battles. These activities led to an important phase of Bolshevization. At its formation, our Party was strongly under the influence of syndicalist tendencies in its trade union policy. The program of the Communist Labor Party showed definite traces of this syndicalism. But in the battles of 1919-1921 the Party learned the meaning of Bolshevik trade union policy. It learned that to win the workers we revolutionists must be with them. It learned that no matter how much the trade union bureaucrats misuse the trade unions to serve the bosses' interests, the masses of workers were in these unions because they wanted to fight in the defense of their proletarian interests. For the Communists not to be with them, not to fight for leadership against the misleaders of labor, would not be a revolutionary principle, but would be playing into the hands of the capitalists. Thus, out of the experiences of our Party in its struggles in these first years of its existence, a Bolshevik trade union policy emerged. This policy tremendously strengthened our Party organizationally and politically. It improved the fighting strength of the Party and it brought into its ranks the best elements of the fighting trade unionists.

SECOND CONGRESS OF C.I. CLARIFIES COMMUNIST TACTICS

Meantime the Second Congress of the Communist International was held in June, 1921. This Second Congress, and its decisions, was an event of utmost importance in the history of our Party. At that Congress the organizational prerequisites and political tactics of a Bolshevik party were definitely fixed. The 21 conditions of admission into the Communist International explained the required membership qualification in the Communist International. The

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resolution on trade union work clarified the relation of the revolutionary party to the unions. Resolutions on the national problem and on the agrarian question as well as on revolutionary parliamentarism established the groundwork for a thorough Bolshevist understanding of its tasks, by our Party.

At that time our Party was composed of a series of language federations. Each of these federations had its own executive committee. This form of organization, at best, hindered concerted and uniform action. At their worst, the federations became caucuses within the Party—not subordinate to it, but independent of it.

As against this federationism, our Party had to establish itself as a unified whole with a centralized leadership based on the confidence of the Party.

A revolutionary proletarian party is not only a party of leadership, but a party of leaders. The members of the Communist Party are ideologically the most advanced workers. They are class conscious. They know and understand the social forces which determine the position of the working class. They know the power of the working class to influence those forces and to change them. It is this knowledge that makes them the advance guard of the workers. It is this knowledge which enables every individual member of the Party to be a leader among his fellow workers. He knows what is indispensable for effective efforts of the workers to improve their conditions. That is why, under all conditions and everywhere, each individual Communist is, and must be, a leader. It may depend on individual qualification how far this leadership extends. In some cases it may be merely an ideological influence upon a few fellow workers in the shop. In other instances it may extend to the leadership over large masses of workers in organizations.

COMMUNIST DISCIPLINE IMPERATIVE

If such a party of leadership and leaders is to be effective, it must assure concerted action of all of its members. A group of leaders whose actions are determined by each one individually cannot serve the working class. At best, they contribute to chaos by counteracting each other; at worst, they invite betraying agents of the enemy into their ranks. That is why a Communist Party must demand discipline of its members. A Communist is either guided by the principles and tactics of his Party, or he has no business in that Party. The individual Communist either exercises his leading function among the workers in accordance with the general plan,

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aims, and tactics of the Party as a whole, and thereby becomes an instrument to exercise Party leadership, or he hinders concerted Party activity by his individualism and thus becomes an enemy of the Party. For the Communist Party, discipline is, therefore, an absolute necessity. This Communist discipline requires a leadership, on the one hand entrusted with full power, and, on the other, borne by the confidence of the masses within the Party itself. It requires democratic centralization. The struggle for this democratic centralization was the next effort of our Party toward Bolshevization. It led to the abolition of the language federations and to the establishment of a uniform Party hewn out of one block.

Another contribution to the Bolshevik growth of our Party was the beginning of building its nuclei in the shops and factories. A revolutionary party cannot be an outside force. It must be a party of the working class. It must breathe and work and organize and fight where the working class breathes and works and organizes and fights.

COMMUNIST PARTY MUST BE IN SHOPS

The workers have built for themselves many organizations for many purposes. The revolunionists must be with the workers in these organizations. They must make the functioning of these organizations in the interests of the working class, or the discussions about these functions, the base of the development among the workers of an understanding, and of an organized force for the carrying out of, the revolution. But no matter how many organizations the workers have, and no matter how many workers are organized in them, neither of them, nor all of them together, comprise the working class as a whole. In neither of them nor in all of them together, arise the fundamental class problems of the workers in their entirety. The place where all of the workers are organized, and where all of these problems arise originally, is the place where they work. Aside from that the capitalist government may prohibit all workers' organizations. Yet, the very existence of capitalism depends upon its organizing the workers into productive units, in its shops and factories.

It was, therefore, the most fundamental experience of the working class the world over that tells them in imperative language: "You either drive your roots into the shops and factories, or you can never claim to be a Communist Party." The Communist International gave voice to this guiding policy.

The decision of our Party to try to become a Bolshevik Party

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by driving its roots into the shops and mills and mines and factories did not spring from an abstract desire of conforming to the policies and rules of our Communist International. It sprang out of its own experience. This is an illustration of the case that "orders from Moscow" are in the last analysis, "orders to Moscow" from the various revolutionary parties. The efforts of our Party to establish intimate contact with the masses of American workers, the efforts of our Party to become one with the American masses, demonstrated everywhere that this could not be accomplished without the Party going into the mills and mines and factories. Of course, the members of our Party are, in the main, workers. They always were in the mills and mines and factories. Their class position sent them there, not "orders from Moscow". But in their activities they had not been orientated toward the shop. In the shop they were workers. They became Communists only outside the shop and outside the working hours. But experience taught them that if they did not become, and act as Communists in the shop, they could not become the leaders of the American working class.

The ideological and organizational concentration on the shop, therefore, became another great problem and campaign for the Bolshevization of our Party. It still is the Party's most important problem. We have only begun to solve it.

THE THEORY OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

After American capitalism had emerged from the post-war crisis and the period of relative stabilization had set in, there arose a new political problem for our Party. The "prosperity" of that period strengthened the reflections of capitalist illusions in our ranks. Opportunist conclusions became dominant. These opportunist influences contributed to a loosening of the bonds of Party discipline. Discussions about important political issues and problems were permitted to result in the crystallization of permanent factions within the Party. Factions are at all times unhealthy and impermissible organizational growths. But these factions turned into a definite political cancer. Out of a factional method of fighting for a political opinion, factionalism itself grew into a political principle. The petty-bourgeois opportunist origin of this factionalism finally bore a petty-bourgeois opportunist programmatical fruit. It advanced the monstrous theory of American "exceptionalism".

American "exceptionalism" is a conception of old standing. The very inability of the revolutionary movement in America, in its early stages, to Americanize itself, had given birth to the petty-bourgeois

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phrase that Socialist ideas were alright in other countries, but that they had no meaning for America. All the things that Socialism was fighting for were already in the possession of the American working class: political freedom, equal opportunities, high living standards, etc. According to this theory American capitalism held an exceptional position, granted exceptional rights to the workers, and therefore, required no change by methods of revolutionary class struggle.

This crude form of American exceptionalism received a new dressing and reappeared in the form of the assertion that American capitalism was not affected by the forces that had led to the crisis of the capitalist system the world over. It maintained that American capitalism still had inexhaustible resources. It asserted that the conditions under which American capitalism operated made it possible for it to continue its "prosperity" indefinitely. According to these exceptionalists, even if the existing stability of world capitalism was only temporary and precarious, for American capitalism it was permanent and sound. These exceptionalists asserted that American capitalism had not yet travelled over the top of its development and was not on its way downward, but that it was entering its Victorian age.

PARTY DEFEATS INTERNAL ENEMY

At the time when this theory was advanced, the period of relative stabilization of capitalism was at its end. The coming crisis of world capitalism was casting its shadow ahead. War preparations were intensified by all capitalist governments. American capitalism drew plans for the drafting of "labor" in case of war. Plans were discussed in Washington for the regimentation of the American working class. Every indication pointed toward a rapid sharpening of the class struggle. The Bolshevik need of our Party then was to close its ranks, to strengthen its tie with the masses, and to prepare for increased and more intense mass struggles.

This period was selected as the opportune moment by the petty-bourgeois oportunist elements within the Party to throw the Party off the straight path toward Bolshevization. The theory of American "exceptionalism", sponsored by the Lovestone leadership, was the more evidently opportunist of these efforts; another one dressed itself in the garb of Trotzkyism and tried to cover its opportunist flight from Bolshevik organization and tactics with "Left" phrases. Under the skin both efforts were anti-Communist brothers.

The struggle against these tendencies, and to root out the cancerous factionalism became the greatest of the efforts of our

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Party to Bolshevize itself. In fact, it became an effort that was to test the degree of its completed Bolshevization.

In this effort our international leadership played a decisive part. The leaders of our Party were asked by the leaders of the revolutionary working class the world over: "Look at your tasks! See American capitalism crush its iron heel more and more brutally upon the necks of the American workers. See the need of Bolshevik action. See the need of revolutionary organization and leadership for the American workers. See the proletarian revolution in America in its makings. It is your duty to take your place to further and guide this revolutionary development. Instead of that what are you doing? Instead of working and building a unified Bolshevik Party, you are building factions within the Party to fight each other. Instead of seeing the working class in its effort to organize and fight for its victory, you claim a victory for capitalism. Instead of building a united front of the American workers for the defense of their interests, your factions are even preventing the unity of the Party."

Our international leadership embodied this warning in an Open Letter to our Party, issued in May, 1929. This letter thoroughly aroused the revolutionary loyalty of our members to the cause of the working class and to the cause of the Bolshevik Party. In a tremendous effort the Party liquidated factionalism and made out of our Party a powerful unified whole. It expelled and defeated decisively those who resisted this Bolshevik endeavor. Thus it created a party which today can face confidently, and solve in a considerable degree its tasks as the leader of the American working class in its effort to find a revolutionary way out of bankrupt capitalism.

BASE LAID FOR BOLSHEVIST MASS PARTY

The progress of the capitalist crisis after the fall of 1929, put our Party to a serious test. The sharpening class struggles put the highest pressure on every functioning of the Party. This pressure brought out a number of weaknesses resulting from incomplete or incorrect efforts of Bolshevization. The shifting of the Party's base from territorial to shop units had evidently proceeded too slowly. Because of that the Party was often surprised by militant actions of the workers. Instead of generating and organizing these actions, the Party often had to appear as an outside force after the action had begun.

In the mass work opportunist influences often had erected sec-

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tarian walls. A petty-bourgeois radicalism tended to isolate the Party from the masses.

The efforts of the Party to Bolshevize itself had, in some instances, developed into a mere routine effort.

However, its Bolshevization was sufficiently advanced to make the Party conscious of these weaknesses. The Party saw the tremendous waves of radicalization sweeping the American working class. At the same time it saw its relative inability to organize this rising tide into revolutionary proletarian power. It recognized that only persistent and concentrated efforts could remedy this. The Party embodied its determination to remedy it in an Open Letter issued to the Party by the Central Committee in July, 1933. This Letter called the attention of the Party to these weaknesses and outlined a few fundamental tasks upon which all the energies of the Party were to be concentrated.

The Party is at this moment still engaged in completing these tasks. The ability which the Party has demonstrated lately in organizing the workers and in developing and leading mass struggles are an indication of the degree in which the Party succeeded in accomplishing these tasks.

As a result of this steady growth our Party, on its 15th Birthday, can pride itself on being a worthy comrade of its revolutionary brother parties in the ranks of the Communist International. It is true, its Bolshevik growth is by no means completed; but it is assured.

The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of all toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers. But a Communist Party, with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning of the factories, a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time. (From *An Open Letter to All Members of the Communist Party*, adopted by the Extraordinary National Conference of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., held July 7-10, 1933.)

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The Present Situation, Perspectives, and Tasks in Cuba

(Resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba)

> "The tremendous strains of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars." (Thirteenth Plenum, E.C.C.I.)

1. The estimation made by the First National Conference of the Communist Party of Cuba in December of last year, that we in Cuba have entered into a period of preparation of the workers and peasants for decisive struggles for power, the correctness of which has been confirmed by the subsequent developments, sharpening every day, continues to hold all its worth and timeliness.

The intensification of the economic crisis; the inability of the ruling classes, expressed through their different governments, to solve it, the sharpening of the class conflict and the growth of the revolution, place before the Party as an immediate problem the task of preparing, politically and organizationally, the proletariat and peasantry for decisive struggles toward the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International stated that the international situation has become extremely acute. The prolongation of the world economic crisis, the deepest in the history of capitalism; the steadily worsening conditions of the working masses; the intense contradictions between the imperialist powers for redivision of the world; and, above all, the contradiction between the bankrupt capitalist world and the world of triumphant Socialism on one-sixth of the globe; and, on the other hand, the growing revolutionary upsurge in all the capitalist and colonial countries without exception, and the extension and strengthening of the Soviet Republic in China, point to a rapid maturing of the world revolutionary crisis.

The rise of fascism—the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance

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capital—in a series of countries (Germany Poland, Austria), and the tendency toward fascization in others (Spain, France) are indications, not of the strength of capitalism, but of its weakness and of the growing strength of the forces of revolution.

In the United States a tremendous strike wave has broken out with mass protest against the N.R.A. and the beginning of fascism, introduced by the Roosevelt Government. At the same time an enormous intensification of the national liberation struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies is taking place (the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, and especially Cuba).

Parallel with this development of the crisis and of the contradictions between the imperialist powers with the consequent accentuation of the war danger, the Soviet Union is launching the Second Five-Year Plan—after the victorious conclusion of the First Five-Year Plan in four years—which, further developing the industrialization and collectivization of agriculture on a Socialist basis, pursues as its political objective the complete liquidation of classes in the Soviet Union. The Land of the Soviets has become a powerful industrial country and is the beacon of all the oppressed peoples in the world in their struggle for liberation.

THE NEW IMPERIALIST WAR IS BREWING

The inter-imperialist antagonisms, the imperialist war in China and in South America (between Bolivia and Paraguay, with the danger of war between Colombia and Peru and between Colombia and Venezuela), the failure of the World Economic Conference and of the Disarmament Conference, the rise of fascism in some countries, as well as the fundamental contradiction between the capitalist and Socialist worlds, makes imminent the danger of a world imperialist war and armed intervention against the Soviet Union. A new imperialist war is brewing in the Pacific. The militarist clique in Japan, compelled by the deep internal crisis in which the monarchy, the bourgeoisie, and the feudal elements are embroiled, continues a war of conquest against China, and, having subjugated the north of China with the help of the Kuomintang, is preparing new aggressions against the People's Republic of Mongolia. The militarist fascist clique in Japan intervenes against the anti-imperialist revolution in China. The imperialists of America, Japan, and England are helping the Kuomintang in its sixth offensive against the only people's power in China—the Chinese Soviets.

The development of the Soviet revolution in China, the guerilla warfare in Manchuria, the growing development of the forces of revolution in Japan, the liberation movement of the colonial peoples,

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are creating a new front in the rear guard of the imperialists. The Soviet revolution in China has become a powerful factor in the world revolution.

The Japanese militarist clique tries to reach an understanding with the German fascists and the British imperialists, with the view to unleashing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. They pursue a policy of continuous anti-Soviet provocation, planning to rob Soviet territory and to intervene as a spearhead in this joint counter-revolutionary war against the Land of the Soviets.

The armed insurrection of the Austrian proletariat against fascism, the general strike and mass actions against fascism in France, mark the beginning of the open offensive of the proletariat against fascism and demonstrate that the working class is preparing, under the banner of the Communist International, for decisive struggles for Soviet Power.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE CRISIS IN CUBA

2. The economic crisis in Cuba preceded the world crisis of capitalism which began in 1929; the monocultural character of the country caused the crisis to break in 1921. Although relieved by movements of relative improvement, it has followed a course of continuous intensification based on the crisis in the sugar industry, and has developed within the framework of the general crisis of capitalism.

Since the beginning of the crisis, and particularly since the rise of the Machado Government in 1925, Yankee imperialism and the native ruling classes have attempted to unburden the consequences of the crisis on the toiling masses of the city and country. The methods used: restriction of the sugar crop in 1926, control over the sale of the peasant crops (vendedor unico), the Chadbourne Plan, etc., far from solving the crisis, have deepened it, greatly worsening the living conditions of the proletariat, the peasantry, and all strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie, and have increased the dependence of Cuba on Yankee imperialism.

The revolutionary upsurge of the masses has grown out of the economic crisis. The workers' revolutionary movement has followed a continuous upswing, particularly since 1929 when the world crisis intensified the Cuban crisis. The few preceding years had witnessed a slight betterment coupled with a policy of terror by the Machado Government, which caused a decline from the great liberation struggles of 1919 to 1924.

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THE INTENSIFIED CONTRADICTIONS OF IMPERIALIST DOMINATION IN CUBA

3. On the basis of the deepening economic crisis and the developing revolutionary movement, all the contradictions confronting imperialist domination in Cuba were sharpened. First, the contradiction between imperialist domination and the oppressed Cuban people (between the oppressing country and the oppressed). Second, the growing antagonism of the proletariat and peasants to the bourgeois-landlord-imperialist regime. Third, the antagonisms between the different imperialist groups of the United States, chiefly the conflict which exists between the sugar producers within the tariff wall of the United States—the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico—and the sugar producers in Cuba who are engaged in fierce competition for the American market. Fourth, the struggle between the sugar refiners in the United States and those in Cuba, an expression of the contradictions of imperialism in exporting capital to the colonies and at the same time hindering their industrial development. Finally, the opposing interests of the small industrial development in the interior of the country with the entire economic policy of imperialism.

In politics, the native sugar growers and the large bourgeois importing class are the most reactionary (A.B.C., Nationalists, Menocalists), while the others constitute what can be termed the "Left wing" of the bourgeoisie and landlords (Autenticos, Guiteristas, National Revolutionary Party). Around these two groups are arrayed the various groupings of the ruling classes of Cuba which together constitute the forces of counter-revolution, supported by American finance capital.

THE INCAPACITY OF THE VARIOUS CUBAN GOVERNMENTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE CRISIS

4. All the governments which have succeeded one another in power since the overthrow of Machado have demonstrated equally their incapacity to solve even a single one of the problems created by the crisis.

The bourgeois-landlord government of Grau San Martin, who was placed in the presidential chair on the fourth of September, 1933, by the petty bourgeoisie, principally by the students, by workers who were under the influence of the petty bourgeoisie, and by the army, failed because it could not fulfill its mission of curbing the revolutionary movement of the masses. It failed because it could not solve the problems of the crisis, having subsequently lost the support of the petty bourgeoisie, and because, although a government which

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defended the interests of the bourgeoisie, the landlords, and the imperialists, ae well as their dictatorship, against the masses, it did not gain the confidence of Yankee imperialism nor of the native ruling classes, precisely because it could not curb the developing revolution.

The advent to power of the Mendieta-A.B.C.-Batista Government on January 18, 1934, is a factor tending to deepen the crisis. It signifies the triumph of the policy of Yankee imperialism by setting up a government of concentration whose mission is to unleash a decided offensive, through methods of violence and terrorism, against the revolutionary movement of the toiling population.

The counter-revolutionary concentration government not only has this fundamental mission to perform, but must servilely apply the whole oppressive policy of Yankee imperialism. The plan to modify the Treaty of Reciprocity, hailed as a panacea for all ills, does not solve the crisis; quite the contrary. In effect, this plan contains four fundamental points: a fixed quota on sugar exportation from Cuba to the United States; a reduction of 20 per cent in the U.S. tariff on Cuban sugar; a reduction of Cuban tariffs on American products; and a fixed quota on the exportation of refined sugar. The first means a permanent restriction of the zafra with all the consequences of increased unemployment—the prolongation of the dead season; it means the ruin of the small growers and a decrease in the commercial and industrial activity throughout the country. The second means the transfer into the hands of the Cuban sugar magnates of 40 million dollars representing the 20 per cent reduction in tariff. The last two points represent an obstacle to the further development of Cuban refineries and the consequent strengthening of Cuba's economic dependence on the United States. In "exchange", the tariff reduction on American products will bring an innundation of Yankee products to the Cuban market and consequently the ruin of small consumption industry. The plan will have not only these effects; it will also mean the flooding of Cuba with American agricultural products, adding to the ruin of the peasantry. These measures will also be felt in a decrease in the government revenues (through the reduction in customs tariffs), which will result in a policy of taxes on consumption goods more savage than that which exists today.

In addition to this plan, the Government has arranged for a new loan of four and a half million dollars which, although momentarily easing the situation a little, especially for the public employees, thus concealing for a short time the terrible effects of the plan, will increase the external debt and as a consequence increase the dependence of Cuba on Yankee imperialism. The issue of money which the Government is trying to effect is an attempt to rob the masses,

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through inflation, of the wage increases won in their latest struggles. The moratorium declared by the Government on the external debt with continued payment of interest tends to relieve the fiscal situation temporarily; but since there is no decrease in the standing taxes for payment of the debt, no benefit to the masses exists; on the contrary, the moratorium prolongs the payment of interest. The moratorium is, furthermore, a maneuver behind which to legalize the debt to the Chase National Bank.

The Mendieta Government, faithful executor of these plans of slavery, not only puts them into practice, but is making enormous expenditures for its apparatus of repression in preparation for war to help Yankee imperialism in the next imperialist slaughter.

Many of the lackeys now governing are the same who led Cuba to participate in the World War in 1917, and now, with the same objectives, sow false illusions that a new war would bring new prosperity. This is nothing but a fraud since the position of Cuba as the world's sugar provendor has changed completely (it now produces only eight per cent of the world's sugar). In addition, because of its strategic position, our country will be the scene of war and, in case of an armed conflict, Yankee imperialism would occupy the island in order to produce sugar under a regime of military slavery at a low cost for its armed forces. This is merely a trick designed to cover up the construction of airdromes throughout the country, to cover the strengthening of the army, the purchase of modern arms, and the payment to the Yankee military instructors, etc. These enormous expenditures weigh on the toiling population.

For imperialism and the native exploiting classes there is no other way out of the crisis except through increasing the misery and exploitation of the masses and increasing the enslavement and dependence of the country to the yoke of imperialism.

THE ROLE WHICH THE C.P. OF CUBA HAS PLAYED IN THE STRUGGLES

5. The First National Conference of the Party marked a temporary decline in the struggles since October, due principally to the insufficient exposure of the Grau Government by the Party, which made it possible for that Government, with its demagogic maneuvers, to sow illusions among certain sections of the proletariat. This temporary decline began to be overcome immediately after December, 1933. New and important struggles took place in the centrals, principally in the eastern provinces. The strike of the electric plants and the island-wide strike of teachers set in; and that great revolutionary mobilization, the Fourth Congress of Trade Union Unity, called by the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.O.C.), was

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held with 431,000 workers represented by 3,000 delegates from the basic industries of the country.

The Party played an important role in these strikes, although it did not assume leadership in many cases. The Party's influence and leadership in the strikes, its penetration into the movements which began without our leadership, gave the movement high political significance in spite of the weaknesses and mistakes made. The strikes of public employees, street cleaners, teachers, etc., showed that the petty bourgeoisie was vacillating, inclining toward the side of the proletariat.

The rise of the concentration government occurred during a new wave of revolutionary outbreaks, and while many of these outbreaks did not originate as an answer to the new government, since they had their beginnings under the Grau Government, they served, nevertheless, as a step forward in the offensive of the proletariat. Among these were the strike of the Northern Railroad of Cuba, the new strike of the electric employees, the strike of the telephone workers, and the extension of the sugar strikes, etc. These strikes were characterized by great militancy and a high political level, in addition to the fact that the majority of them were led by the Party and were directed against the decrees.

The openly reactionary policy of the concentration government and the clear class character of its measures hasten the alignment of class forces in the country, drawing toward the side of the proletariat the peasantry and the most impoverished sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and awakening to the revolutionary struggle the superexploited and oppressed Negro masses, brought into action through our influence in face of the anti-Negro campaign of the A.B.C. and the beginning of lynchings and persecutions (assassination of Proveyer in Trinidad).

But the dangerous lagging in the peasant struggles in relation to the struggles of the proletariat, as pointed out by the First National Conference, has continued. True, some struggles of the colonos (peasants) have developed lately linked with the struggles of the proletariat, but these have been very weak. Nevertheless, the discontent of the peasant masses increases and their radicalization grows, pushed by the continued worsening of their living conditions. This, in spite of the demagogic declarations of the government and the bourgeois-landlord parties which have lately undertaken a desperate campaign of propaganda to win over the peasants. While the workers, throughout this period of struggles, achieved great economic gains, establishing the eight-hour day in the majority of industries, the peasants have made very few gains. The continued low level of

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the struggle for taking over and distributing the land, noted in the First National Conference, remains the fundamental danger to the development of the revolution in Cuba.

THE REACTIONARY MEASURES OF THE CONCENTRATION GOVERNMENT

6. The mission of the counter-revolutionary concentration government, to crush the revolutionary movement by the most violent and terroristic methods, was sharply revealed in a short time, although this does not exclude demagogic maneuvers (promises for distributing land, anti-imperialist declarations of the A.B.C., etc.). The law for Defense of the Republic; the fascist decrees against strikes, against the revolutionary movement in general, and against all the democratic rights of the people, etc.; the Tribunals for Defense of the Republic (new military courts, trying civilians, equal to those under Machado); the imprisonment of thousands; the annulment of the rights of assembly, demonstration, press, etc.; and the attempts to dissolve the unions; are the means by which it is trying to crush the struggle for maintaining and winning gains. This open policy of terror against the revolutionary movement is shown in the growing preponderance of the military over the civil power (provincial and town government carried out by military supervisors, military jurisdiction aside from the civil, military bands in certain mills, suspension of constitutional guarantees, etc.).

But the reactionary and terrorist measures of the Government, far from curbing the struggles, increase the discontent of the masses who answer with a greater offensive: strikes of the sugar and tobacco workers; strikes of the miners, port workers, and other sections of the working class in Oriente; the strike on the Cuban Railway; the strike of the Havana omnibus workers; the strike of Havana harbor; the strike of Sarra; the new telephone strike; and the strikes in important commercial houses, etc. Mass political strikes are developing; the general strike in Camaguey; two general strikes in Santiago de Cuba; the general strike in the province of Havana, which involved 134,000 workers; 24-hour political strikes in a number of industries (in Havana and other places), etc., etc.

This second wave of strikes under the Mendieta Government is the most important movement from the point of view of its content, the strikes differing from those of August in that the proletariat demonstrated a deep class consciousness, contributing to a greater class alignment. The Party led practically all of them, organized them more carefully and gave them the character of a mass political

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movement directed not only against the fascist Decree Laws, but also against the government of counter revolution.

The governmental bloc is not homogeneous and contains within itself the factors for its own decomposition, accelerated by the increasing struggles and radicalization of the masses. The struggle within the government between the A.B.C. and the Nationalists and other factions for municipal offices, secretaryships, etc., deepens the contradictions and makes for disintegration. This struggle also exists between Batista, who wishes to strengthen his hegemony in the Government, and other factions. On the other hand, the "Autenticos" (the followers of Guiteras and Grau San Martin, the leaders of the September 4 revolt) and the other groups which support Grau have not renounced their desire to occupy the government anew. This can result in a future sharpening of the friction in the bourgeois-landlord camp, although it does not exclude the possibility of "Cuban solutions" (coups d'etat).

THE DEMAGOGIC ATTEMPTS TO CONCEAL THE DANGER OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

In spite of the fact that the Mendieta Government is supported by Washington, which recognized it immediately, the danger of armed Yankee intervention continues to exist and increases in the same measure as the development of the revolutionary movement constitutes a direct danger to the existence of the present regime. On the other hand, the Mendieta Government and all the parties of the ruling class, together with their Trotzkyite and anarchist agents, try to play up the danger of intervention in such a manner as to curb the struggles of the masses. Developing the theory of the "lesser evil"—"better a Cuban Government than intervention" (Mendieta), "That it is not possible to have a revolution in Cuba before it has taken place in the United States" (Autenticos and Trotzkyites)—they use the spectre of intervention to perpetuate the regime of bourgeois-landlord rule in Cuba. The danger of intervention, like intervention itself, can be combatted and held off only through the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Imperialism and its agents try to conceal such a possibility, carefully hiding their preparations. But the warships of the Yankee fleet still surround the island with marines, ready to land. The concentration of troops in Guantanamo and the announced military maneuvers, aside from the war preparations, are in reality a demonstration of force against the Cuban masses. The declarations of Roosevelt that he will not intervene in Cuba while President, actually serve to disarm the masses, paralyzing the struggle against armed intervention.

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OUR PARTY'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Our Party has made great and unquestionable progress since its birth and development during the eight years of the Machado dictatorship, living under the most difficult conditions of White Terror.

Our Party was able to convert itself from a group of Communists centered in Havana in 1925, struggling against ferocious persecution, imprisonments, tortures and assassinations, into a national Party with organizations throughout the country, having thousands of members and leading hundreds of thousands of workers.

Through an energetic and persistent struggle our Party won the leadership of the C.N.O.C. which lived through the blackest illegality and in spite of the struggles of the anarchists and reformists to destroy it and create new trade union centers. The C.N.O.C. was not only kept alive by the Party, but day after day increased its prestige, anchoring itself in the masses and developing as a revolutionary trade union center.

The penetration of the Party since 1931 and 1932 into the basic sections of the proletariat, principally the sugar workers, marks a decisive turn in the mass work of the Party, resulting in the creation of the National Sugar Workers Industrial Union. This penetration was possible through a constant struggle for the basic demands of the proletariat and against the restriction of the zafra (sugar harvest), the Chadbourne Plan, and against the terror and the entire policy of hunger and oppression by the native and imperialist exploiters.

The Party has also succeeded in breaking the influence of the reformists among the tobacco workers, making a decisive penetration into this section and developing the revolutionary trade union movement.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, basic sections of the proletariat have won great gains—the eight-hour day in many industries and in the mills, increases as high as 200 per cent in daily wages, the payment of salaries in cash instead of scrip, the employment of hundreds of new workers in production, the achievement in recent months of the right of assembly, and many other gains.

On the road toward this development the Party has had to combat and conquer alien class influences which filtered into our ranks. The Party has dissipated the influence of the anarchists and liquidated the opposition to the Party headed by Varela in 1931, purging itself of Trotzkyite elements and strengthening its own ranks with the enrollment of new members and the forging of a better discipline. An ideological struggle has also been developed against opportunist tendencies. The Party has liquidated the serious mistakes which

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were committed in the trade union field, especially relative to the liquidation of the united front tactic, and the policy of "joint committees" which were the expression of the united front from the top and not from below.

The achievements of the Party were possible also through its reconstruction on the basis of factory cells, marking to a large extent the termination of the old structure of trade cells and trade union cells. This permits the Party to penetrate more deeply among the masses.

Among the most important struggles for the development of the Party, it is necessary to point out the building and development of the Y.C.L. into an organization leading the struggles of the working youth which now embraces some thousands of members distributed in the principal industrial centers of the country.

The Party has also organized and led a number of organizations which facilitate its mass work, such as the D.O.I. (International Labor Defense), developed as an organization for struggle against the terror, and the Anti-Imperialist League.

In recent months enormous progress has been made in the trade union field. The C.N.O.C. has been converted into an organization which before long will have won the majority of the proletariat, as shown by the Fourth Congress of Trade Union Unity held in 1933. But, in spite of these achievements, our Party has made serious mistakes and suffers from a number of weaknesses which help to retard the maturing of the revolutionary crisis.

WEAKNESSES THAT MUST BE REGISTERED

As yet the Party has not completely liquidated the opportunist and anarcho-syndicalist influences which were in evidence during the general strike of August and which blinded our Central Committee to the perspective that the general strike opened up the road toward the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution and to the overthrow of Machado through the popular mass movement.

Since the recognition of these mistakes by the Central Committee, with the help of the Comintern, a persistent struggle has been carried on against the consequences of those errors; but we must redouble our efforts to liquidate decisively the causes which gave rise to them, strengthening the Bolshevik leadership of the Party, developing and strengthening the leading cadres in the District Committees and raising the political level of the lower ranks.

In spite of the increase noted in the achievements of the Party, we must point out that it is, nevertheless, far below the possibilities and needs of the revolutionary movement. We have not yet fulfilled

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the directive of the Comintern to convert our Party into a real mass Party. Intensive mass recruiting of the most advanced workers has not yet been achieved, and great fluctuation exists in the membership of the Party. In many places our organizations are not consolidated and the ideological level of the Party remains low. In many cases our cells do not function as real Communist cells and have a poor political life.

We have not yet learned how to consolidate our influence in the unions, to build strong Communist fractions for leading the work in the unions and oust the reformist leaders who merely seek an occasion to attack us.

Our Party has not always known how to apply its tasks to the concrete situation. Especially do we find this true in our propaganda for Soviet Power. While on the one hand we have released connectedly the slogans for the most urgent demands of the working class, we have, on the other hand, introduced agitation for Soviet Power without establishing as a link a series of transitional slogans which would facilitate the understanding by the masses of the problem of power.

It is these errors and weaknesses which hinder the fulfillment of the tasks of the Party.

OUR WEAK WORK IN REGARD TO INFLUENCING THE ARMY

8. The principal instrument the ruling classes have had for repressing the struggles of the masses and one of the principal means of maintaining themselves in power has been the army. The army, however, is not a homogeneous organization, but is also divided into classes and consists, for the most part, of elements of working class and peasant origin which can and must be won over for the revolution. The coup of the fourth of September demonstrated to what point the mass revolutionary movement had influenced the soldiers as well as the lack of serious work among the armed forces. As a consequence of this weak work, the movement was canalized in favor of the "Autenticos"; it was not taken advantage of for the formation of committees in the barracks and ships. In recent months serious symptoms of disintegration have appeared in the army, with outstanding examples of fraternization with the workers (during the railway strike in Camaguey, during the preparation for the street car workers' strike in Santiago de Cuba, in Cruces, etc.).

THE DECISION OF OUR PARTY AS REGARDS THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

9. The policy followed by the ruling classes in respect to the Constituent Assembly is entirely clear. On the one hand, the ex-

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ploiters have retarded the assembly as a means of avoiding any situation that may mobilize the forces of revolution, while on the other, they make preparations for its realization under conditions most advantageous to themselves.

The rabid campaign of violent attacks and lies against the Communist Party and the revolutionary forces, the propaganda to the effect that a workers' and peasants' government could not be maintained in Cuba, the imprisonment and murder of Communist leaders, are part of the general attack against the exploited masses and are an attempt to decapitate the revolution; they are also a part of the preparations of the exploiters to assure themselves a majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The Party has announced its decision to participate in the elections for the Constituent Assembly in order to show the masses its class character. The Party is presenting its own program and is utilizing the elections for a greater mobilization of the masses around the program of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution. At the same time, it is using the tribunal of the Constituent Assembly for unmasking the leaders of the ruling class parties and for winning to the side of the revolution the workers and peasants by uprooting their illusions in bourgeois-landlord "democracy" and showing them that the only solution is Soviet Power.

(To Be Continued)

PROGRESS IN THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

What is meant by Bolshevizing the Party?

It means to master all the lessons taught us by that first Communist Party, the most successful one, created and led to victory by Lenin, and now successfully building Socialism under the leadership of Stalin. It means to become a party of the masses; to be a Party with its strongest roots among the decisive workers in the basic industries; it means to be a Party whose stronghold is in the shops, mines, and factories, and especially in the biggest and most important ones; it means to be a Party that leads and organizes the struggles of all the oppressed peoples, brings them into firm alliance with the working class; it means to be a Party that answers every question of the struggle; that can solve every problem; it means to be a Party that never shrinks from difficulties, that never turns aside to find the easiest way; that learns how to overcome all deviations in its own ranks—fight on two fronts—it means to become a Party that knows how to take difficulties and dangers and transform them into advantages and victories. (Earl Browder: *Report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.*)

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Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin on the Communist Party

PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

IN what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties; formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas of principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement

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going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property. (Marx-Engels: *Communist Manifesto.*)

THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF 1847 BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the bourgeois social order founded upon class antagonisms, and the inauguration of a new social order wherein there shall be neither classes nor private property.

(Article I of the Rules adopted at the Second Congress of the League held at London, December 8, 1847.)*

The Secretary (Signed) ENGELS

The President (Signed) CARL SCHAPPER

WHY THE PROLETARIAT MUST TRAIN ITS OWN LEADERS

The whole Party must systematically and persistently train from among its own ranks suitable people to work in the center; it must see clearly, as if on the palm of its hand, the whole activity of every candidate for this post; it must become acquainted with

* Appendix to *The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* Marxist Library, Vol. III. International Publishers, New York, 1930.

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their individual characteristics, their weak sides and their strong sides, with their victories and with their "defeats." (Lenin, in a letter to *Iskra* [*The Spark*], Nov. 25, 1903.)*

There is not a single political worker who has not experienced defeat at some period of his career, and if we desire to speak seriously about exercising influence upon the masses, about winning the "good will" of the masses, we must exert every effort to prevent these defeats from being concealed in the vitiated atmosphere of study-circle and groups; they must be submitted to the judgment of all. At first sight it would seem that this not a proper thing to do and that it would give "offense" to this or that leader. But this false sense of propriety must be overcome; it is our duty to the Party and to the working class. By this and this alone will we make it possible for the whole mass (and not a casually selected group or study-circle) of influential Party workers to know their leaders and to place each one of them in his proper place. Only wide publicity will rectify all the rigid one-sided capricious deviations. Only this will convert, what are sometimes stupid and ridiculous "oppositions" and "little groups" into useful and necessary material for Party self-training.

Light, more light! We must have an enormous orchestra; we must acquire experience in order to be able to distribute properly the various roles; to give one a sentimental violin, to another the stern double bass and to a third the conductor's baton. Let us respond to the author's appeal for hospitality for all opinions in the pages of the Party organ and in all Party publications. Let us and everyone judge our "polemics and quarrels" over the question as to whether a "note" was sharp or flat or cracked. Only after a series of such open discussions, will it be possible to train a really harmonious concert of leaders; only if this is done, will the workers be placed in a position in which they cannot fail to understand us; only in this way will our "general staff" be able to reply on the good and conscious will of the army, which simultaneously follows the lead of and directs its general staff. (Lenin, in a letter to *Iskra*, Nov. 25, 1903.)

We must train people who shall devote to the revolution not only their spare evenings, but the whole of their lives. We must build up an organization so large as to be able to introduce division of labor

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* Reprinted from *Lenin On Organization*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1926.

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in the various forms of our work .(Lenin: "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement.")*

CRITICISM OF THE THEORY OF SPONTANEITY, OR THE PART PLAYED BY THE VANGUARD IN THE MOVEMENT

The theory of spontaneity is the theory of opportunism; the theory that we must bow before the spontaneity of the working class movement; the theory which in practice amounts to a denial that the vanguard of working class, the Party of the working class, can act as leader for the class as a whole.

This theory that we must bow before the spontaneity of the working class movement is the theory of those who deny the revolutionary character of the working class movement, the theory of those who oppose any endeavor to lead the working class battalions into an attack upon the foundations of capitalism. It is the theory of those who consider that the movement should be content to formulate demands that are "reasonable," demands that will be "acceptable" by the capitalists; it is the theory of those who are glad to follow "the line of least resistance". The theory of spontaneity is the ideology of trade unionism.

The theory that we must bow our heads before the spontaneity of the working class movement is the theory of those who are decisively opposed to an atempt to give the spontaneous movement a deliberate and purposive character; it is the theory of those who do not want our Party to march in front of the action, leading the movement. It is the theory of those who consider that the thinking elements should let the movement go its own way, that the Party should listen for the voice of the spontaneous movement and be content to trot along in the rear, to hold on to the tail, to follow where the movement leads. It is the theory of those who underestimate the importance of the thinking elements, the theory of those whose ideology is that of "hvostism" or "tailism"—the logical foundation of every kind of opportunism.

In practice this theory, which was current in Russia before the revolution of 1905, led those who were guided by it(they were known as the "economists") to deny the need for an independent working class party in Russia. The "economists" were opposed to the development of a revolutionary working class struggle for the overthrow of tsarism; they advocated a trade-unionist policy within

* Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. IV. International Publishers, New York, 1929.

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the movement; they wished the working class movement to remain under the thumb of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The campaign of the old *Iskra*, and Lenin's brilliant criticism of "tailism" in *What is to be done?* not only smote the "economists" hip and thigh, but also provided a theoretical foundation for a truly revolutionary Russian working class movement.

Had it not been for this preliminary work in the theoretical field, it would have been impossible to create an independent party of class-conscious workers in Russia, and impossible for that party to take the lead in the revolution. (Stalin: *Foundations of Leninism.*)*

ONE OF THE BASIC PREREQUISITES FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

Certainly almost everyone now realizes that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and one-half years, and not even for two and one-half months, without the strictest discipline, the truly iron discipline in our Party and without the fullest and unreserved support tendered it by the whole mass of the working class, that is, by all those belonging to this class who think, who are honest, self-sacrificing, influential and capable of leading and attracting the backward masses.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and the most ruthless war waged by the new class against the *more powerful* enemy, against the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even though only in one country) and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small-scale production*. For, unfortunately, very, very much of small-scale production still remains in the world, and small-scale production *gives* birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war which requires perseverence, discipline, firmness, inflexibility, and unity of will.

I repeat, the experience of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has clearly shown to those who are unable to think or who have not had occasion to ponder over this question,

* International Publishers, New York, 1932.

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that absolute centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat are one of the basic conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie.

This has often been discussed. But far from enough thought has been given to the question as to what it means, and under what conditions it is possible. Would it not be better *more frequently* to accompany greetings to the Soviet power and the Bolsheviks by a *very serious analysis* of the reasons *why* the latter were able to build up the discipline necessary for the revolutionary proletariat?

Bolshevism, as a trend of political thought and as a political party, has existed since 1903. Only the history of Bolshevism during the *whole* period of its existence can satisfactorily explain why it was able to build up and maintain, under most difficult conditions, the iron discipline necessary for the victory of the proletariat.

And first of all, the question arises: how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its firmness, self-sacrifice, and heroism. Secondly, but its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and, to a certain degree, if you will, merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletarian *but also with the non-proletarian* toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses become convinced of this correctness *by their own experience*. Without these conditions discipline in a revolutionary party that is really capable of being a party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions all attempts to establish discipline are inevitably transformed into trifling phrase-mongering and empty gestures. On the other hand, these conditions cannot arise all at once. They are created only through prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated only by correct revolutionary theory, which in its turn is not a dogma but assumes complete shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement.

If in 1917-1920, under the greatest difficulties, Bolshevism could build up and successfully carry out the strictest centralization and iron discipline, it was due simply to a number of historical peculiarities of Russia.

On the one hand, Bolshevism arose in 1903 on the very firm foundation of Marxian theory. And the correctness of this—and only this—revolutionary theory has been proved not only by the

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experience of all countries during the entire nineteenth century but particularly by the experience of the wanderings and vacillations, the mistakes and disappointments of revolutionary thought in Russia. For almost half a century—approximately between the 'forties and 'nineties of last century—advanced thinkers in Russia, under the oppression of an unprecedented, savage and reactionary tsarism, sought eagerly for the correct revolutionary theory, virtually through *suffering*, by a half century of unprecedented torments and sacrifices, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, painstaking search and study, testing in practice, disappointments, checking, and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the emigration enforced by tsarism, revolutionary Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, possessed such a wealth of international connections and such excellent information about world forms and theories of the revolutionary movement as no other country in the world possessed.

On the other hand, having risen on this granite theoretical foundation, Bolshevism passed through fifteen years (1903-1917) of practical history which, in wealth of experience, has had no equal anywhere else in the world. For no other country during these fifteen years had anything even approximating this revolutionary experience, this rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement—legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, open and underground, small circles and mass movements, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country was there concentrated during so short a period of time such a wealth of forms, shades and methods of struggle involving *all* classes of modern society, and, moreover, of a struggle which, owing to the backwardness of the country and the heavy yoke of tsarism, was maturing with exceptional rapidity and assimilating most eagerly and successfully the corresponding "last word" of American and European political experience. (Lenin: *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder.*)*

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF RUSSIA TRANSFORMED PRINCIPALLY BY THE MASS STRIKE OF 1905 INTO A MASS PARTY

Prior to January 22 (January 9, old style), 1905, the revolutionary party of Russia consisted of a small handful of people, and the reformists of those days (like the reformists of today) derisively called them a "sect". Several hundred revolutionary

* International Publishers, New York, 1934.

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organizers, several thousand members of local organizations, half a dozen revolutionary papers appearing not more frequently than once a month, published mainly abroad, and smuggled into Russia under extraordinary difficulties and at the price of many sacrifices—such were the revolutionary parties in Russia, and revolutionary Social-Democracy in particular, prior to January 22, 1905. This circumstance gave the narrow-minded and overbearing reformists a formal justification for asserting that there was not yet a revolutionary people in Russia.

Within a few months, however, the picture completely changed. The hundreds of revolutionary Social-Democrats "suddenly" grew into thousands; the thousands became leaders of between two and three millions of proletarians. The proletarian struggle gave rise to a strong ferment, often to revolutinary movements, among the peasant masses, fifty to a hundred million strong; the peasant movement had its repercussion in the army and led to soldiers' uprisings, to armed clashes between one section of the army and another. In this manner, a colossal country, with a population of 130,000,000, entered into the revolution; in this way slumbering Russia became transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people.

It is necessary to study this transformation to understand its possibilities, its ways and methods, so to speak.

The principal means by which this transformation was brought about was the mass strike. The peculiar feature of the Russian Revolution is that in its social content it was a *bourgeois-democratic* revolution, but in its methods of struggle it was a *proletarian* revolution. It was a bourgeois-democratic revolution, since the aim toward which it strove directly and which it could reach directly, with the aid of its own forces was a democratic republic, an eight-hour day and the confiscation of the immense estates of the nobility—all measures achieved almost completely in the French bourgeois revolution of 1792 and 1793.

At the same time the Russian Revolution was also a proletarian revolution, not only in the sense that the proletariat was the leading force, the vanguard of the movement, but also in the sense that the specifically proletarian means of struggle—namely, the strike—was the principal instrument employed for rousing the masses and the most characteristic phenomenon in the wave-like rise of decisive events. (Lenin: "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", delivered on January 22, 1917, before a gathering of working class youth in Zurich.)*

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* *The Revolution of* 1905. International Publishers, New York, 1931.

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THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE PARTY

I.

The working class must organize a political party to ensure the triumph of the Social Revolution and its ultimate objective—the abolition of classes.

The unification of the scattered forces, which has already been achieved to a certain degree in the process of the economic struggle, will also be the moving force in the struggles against the political domination of their exploiters:

The conference, in view of the foregoing, would therefore bring to the notice of all the members of the International that in the struggle of the working class, the economic movement of the workers is indissolubly bound up with their political activities. (From the Resolution drawn up by Marx for the London Conference of the First International.)

II.

In order that it may fulfill its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself and accomplish the following fundamental strategic aims:

Extend its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the Communist Party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations (Soviets, trade unions, factory councils, co-operative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.). It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to capture the trade unions, which are genuine mass working class organizations, closely bound up with the everyday struggles of the working class. (Program of the Communist International.)*

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS THE VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS

Hitherto I have been writing about the dictatorship of the proletariat from the standpoint of its historical necessity; from the stand-

* Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1929.

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point of its nature as a class manifestation; from the standpoint of its political characteristics; and, lastly, from the standpoint of its destructive and creative tasks, which persist throughout an entire historical epoch known as the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Now we have to consider the dictatorship of the proletariat from the standpoint of its structure: its "mechanism"; the function and the importance of the "belts", the "levers", and the "guiding force", which comprise in their totality "the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Lenin), and with the aid of which the daily work of the dictatorship of the proletariat is carried on.

What are these "belts" or "levers" in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is the "guiding force"? Why are they needed?

The levers and the belts are the mass organizations of the proletariat, without whose aid the dictatorship cannot be realized in practice.

The guiding force is that of the advanced section of the proletariat, the workers' vanguard, which constitutes the veritable leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat needs these belts, these levers, and this guiding force, because without them it would, in its struggle for victory, be like a weaponless army in face of organized and armed capital. It needs these organizations, because without them it would inevitably be defeated in the fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the consolidation of its own power, for the upbuilding of socialism. The systematic help of these organizations and of the guiding force of the workers' vanguard is indispensable, because otherwise the dictatorship of the proletariat could not be durable or steadfast.

What are these organizations?

First of all, there are the *trade unions*, with their national and local ramifications in the form of productive, educational, cultural, and other organizations. In these, the workers of all trades and industries are united. They are not Party organizations. Our trade unions can be regarded as the general organization of the working class now holding power in Soviet Russia. They constitute a school of communism. From them are drawn the persons best fitted to occupy the leading positions in all branches of administration. They form the link between the more advanced and the comparatively backward sections of the working class, for in them the masses of the workers are united with the vanguard.

Secondly, we have the *soviets* with their manifold national and local ramifications, taking the form of administrative, industrial,

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military, cultural, and other State organizations, together with a multitude of spontaneous mass groupings of the workers in the bodies which surround these organizations and link them up with the general population. The soviets are the mass organizations of all those who labor in town and country. They are not Party organizations, but are the direct expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All kinds of measures for the strengthening of the dictatorship and for the upbuilding of socialism are carried out by means of the soviets. Through them, the political guidance of the peasantry by the proletariat is effected. The soviets unite the laboring masses with the proletarian vanguard.

Thirdly, we have *cooperatives* of all kinds, with their multiple ramifications. These, too, are non-Party organizations, being mass organizations in which the workers are united, primarily as consumers, but also, at a later stage, as producers (agricultural cooperatives). The cooperatives play a specially important part after the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the period of widespread construction. They form a link between the proletarian vanguard and the peasant masses, and provide a means whereby the latter can be induced to share in the work of socialist construction.

Fourthly, there is the *League of Youth.* This is a mass organization of the young workers and peasants, not a Party organization, but in close touch with the Party. Its work is to help the Party in training the younger generation in a socialist spirit. It provides young reserves for all the other mass organizations of the proletariat in every branch of administration. The League of Youth acquires peculiar importance after the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the period when widespread cultural and educational work is incumbent upon the proletariat.

Lastly, we come to the *Party* of the proletariat, the proletarian vanguard. Its strength lies in the fact that it attracts to its ranks the best elements of all the mass organizations of the proletariat. Its function is to *unify* the work of all the mass organizations of the proletariat, without exception, and to *guide* their activities towards a single end, that of the liberation of the proletariat. Unification and guidance are absolutely essential. There must be unity in the proletarian struggle; the proletarian masses must be guided in their fight for power and for the upbuilding of socialism; and only the proletarian vanguard, only the Party of the proletariat, is competent to unify and guide the work of the mass organizations of the proletariat. Nothing but the Party of the proletariat, nothing but the Communist Party, is able to act as universal leader in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Why is this? Let me quote from my pamphlet *Foundations of Leninism*:

> "First of all, because the Party is the rallying-point for the best elements of the working class, of those who are in touch with the non-Party proletarian organizations, and are often leaders in these. In the second place, because the Party, as rallying-point for the best elements of the working class, forms the best training school for leaders competent to guide every kind of working-class organization. Thirdly, because the Party, as the best training school for working-class leaders, is the only organization competent, in virtue of its experience and authority, to centralize the leadership of the proletarian struggle, and thus to transform all non-Party working-class organizations into accessory organs and connecting belts linking up the Party with the working class as a whole."

The Party is the fundamental guiding force within the system of the dictatorship. As Lenin puts it, the Party is the supreme form of class organization of the proletariat.

To sum up: the *trade unions*, as mass organizations of the proletariat, linking the Party with the working class as a whole, especially in the industrial field; the *soviets*, as mass organizations of all who labor, linking the Party with these latter, especially in the political field; the *cooperatives* as mass organizations, chiefly of the peasants, linking the Party with the peasant masses, especially in the economic field and as concerns peasant participation in the work of socialist construction; the *League of Youth*, as a mass organization of the young workers and peasants, whose function it is to help the proletarian vanguard in the socialist education of the rising generation and in the formation of young reserves; finally, the *Party*, as the essential guiding force within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and called upon to lead all the before-mentioned mass organizations—here we have, in broad outline, a picture of the "mechanism" of the dictatorship, a picture of the "system of the dictatorship of the proletariat".

Without the Party as the essential guiding force, there cannot be a lasting and firmly consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat. (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism.*)

ON WINNING THE CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT OF THE WORKING CLASS

But how is the Party to win the confidence and gain the support of the class? The iron discipline necessary for the dictatorship of the proletariat—how is it fashioned, upon what soil does it grow?

Here is what Lenin has to say about the matter:

> "How is discipline maintained within the revolutionary Party of

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the proletariat? What controls the discipline, and what strengthens it? First of all, there is the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, its devotion to the revolution, its self-control, its self-sacrifice, its heroism. Secondly, there is the capacity of the proletarian vanguard for linking itself with, for keeping in close touch with, for to some extent *amalgamating with, the broad masses of those who labor,* * primarily with the proletarian masses, *but also with the non-proletarianized masses of those who labor.* * Thirdly, we have the soundness of the vanguard's political leadership, the soundness of its political strategy and tactic—with the proviso that the broad masses must become convinced *by their own experience* * that the leadership, the strategy, and the tactic are sound. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, there is no possibility of achieving the discipline which is indispensable for a revolutionary party that shall be able to become the Party of the most advanced class, the Party whose task it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to transform the whole of society. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, the attempts to establish such a discipline will never get beyond empty talk and unmeaning gestures—hot air. On the other hand, these conditions cannot be fulfilled betwixt night and morning. Much labor and pains, hard-won experience, will be required. Their fulfillment must be guided by accurate revolutionary theory, which, however, must never harden into dogma, but must always be formulated in close touch with the practical activity of the masses and the daily work of the revolutionary movement." (*Collected Works,* Russian edition, vol. xvii., pp. 118-119.)

Again:

"In order to win the victory over capitalism there must be a proper *relationship between the leading party, the Communist Party,* the revolutionary class, the proletariat, on the one hand, and the mass, the totality of those who labor and are exploited, on the other. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the revolutionary class, enrolling as members all the best elements of that class, consisting of fully class-conscious and devoted communists who have been enlightened and steeled by their experience in the stubborn revolutionary struggle, inseparably connected with the whole life of the working class and through this class linked up with the wider mass of the exploited, enjoying the *full confidence* * of one and all of these—only the Communist Party, if it fulfills all the before-mentioned conditions, is competent to lead the proletariat in the last, the ruthless, the decisive campaign against the united forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a party is the proletariat able to develop the full power of its revolutionary onslaught, to render harmless the inevitable apathy (and sometimes the active hostility) of the small minority of the workers, of the working-class aristocracy which has been corrupted by capitalism, of the old leaders in the trade unions and the cooperatives, etc. Only under the leadership of such a party can the proletariat develop all its

* Italics by Stalin.

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strength, which, in virtue of the economic structure of capitalist society, is incomparably greater than its numerical ratio to the rest of the population." (*Collected Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., pp. 232.)

From the foregoing considerations it follows that:

1. That authority of the Party, and the iron discipline of the working class indispensable to the dictatorship of the proletariat, are based, not upon fear nor upon the concession of "unrestricted" rights to the Party, but upon the confidence of the working class in the Party and upon the support of the Party by the working class.

2. The Party does not win the confidence of the working class in the twinkling of an eye, or by the use of force against the working class. Trust is gradually inspired by the prolonged work of the Party among the masses; thanks to the soundness of Party policy; because the Party is able to convince the masses by their own experience that its policy is sound, thus ensuring the support of the working class and inducing the broad masses of the workers to follow its lead.

3. The Party does not and cannot effectively lead unless its policy is sound, and strengthened by experience in the working-class struggle; it does not and cannot effectively lead unless it has the full confidence of the working class.

4. If the Party enjoys the confidence of the working class and if its leadership is effective, the Party and its leadership cannot be contraposed to the dictotorship of the proletariat, for a firmly established dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible unless the Party leads the working class (the "dictatorship" of the Party) and enjoys the confidence of the working class.

Unless these conditions are fulfilled, "the authority of the Party" and "the iron discipline of the working class" are but empty phrases, are but an idle boast.

There is no justification for contraposing the dictatorship of the proletariat to the leadership (the "dictatorship") of the Party. The contraposition is inadmissible for the reason that the Party leadership is the most important element in the dictatorship of the proletariat—if we are thinking of a firmly established and effective dictatorship, and not of such a dictatorship as that of the Commune of Paris, which was neither firmly established nor effective. The contraposition is inadmissible because the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party leadership are, as it were, complementary parts of one piece of work, and act together along the same line.

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Lenin writes:

> "Any one who states the question in this way, speaking of the dictatorship of the party *or* the dictatorship of the class, speaking of dictatorship of the leaders and dictatorship of the masses as *alternatives*, shows by this very formulation that his mind is incredibly and hopelessly confused. . . . Every one knows that the masses are split up into classes; . . . that (in modern civilized countries, at least) classes are usually led by political parties; that these parties are, as a rule, managed by more or less stable groupings of the most authoritative, influential, and experienced persons among their members, elected to responsible posts and spoken of as leaders. . . . To imply that there is, in general, a contraposition between the dictatorship of the masses and the dictatorship of the leaders is utterly absurd. (*Collected Works*, Russian edition, vol. xvii., pp. 133-134.) (Stalin: *Problems of Leninism.*)*

* Little Lenin Library, Vol. 19. International Publishers, New York, 1934.

STALIN ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A word or two regarding the tasks and the mission of the American Communist Party. I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of those few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. You all know very well the strength and power of American capitalism. Many now think that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. That, of course, is not true. It is entirely untrue, comrades. The crisis of world capitalism is developing with increasing rapidity and cannot but affect American capitalism. The three million now unemployed in America are the first swallows indicating the ripening of the economic crisis in America. The sharpening antagonism between America and England, the struggle for markets and raw materials and, finally, the colossal growth of armaments—that is the second portent of the approaching crisis. I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. (Stalin: *Speeches on the American Communist Party*, delivered in the American Commission of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, May 6, 1929.)

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The Leninist Struggle for the Slogan of Soviet Power in the Present Situation

By A. MARTYNOV

I.

IT is now ten years since Lenin, the outstanding leader died. At the present time, the world is closely approaching the second cycle of revolutions and wars. The revolutionary crisis is maturing throughout the world. In this situation, the Communist International has released the slogan of Soviet Power as the main slogan for the entire mass work as well as for the mass agitation in all capitalist countries and as the slogan for revolutionary action where the seizure of power by the proletariat is already on the order of the day.

During the first round of wars and revolutions at the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, Lenin presented the universal and penetrating theoretical basis of this slogan. Led by Lenin, the Bolsheviks advanced at that time under this slogan to storm capitalism in Russia, an attack that achieved its consummation in the victory of the October Revolution. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin, under the same slogan, launched the ideological struggle against social-democracy in the personification of the renegade Kautsky, and struck at it a crushing blow.

Upon the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin declared:

> "The epoch of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism has ended. A new chapter of world history, the epoch of proletarian dictatorship, has begun."

In the entire ensuing course of history, those words have been confirmed, and even today, their validity has not diminished in the slightest. The situation, in which this formula takes on today practical realization, has undergone essential changes in comparison to the time when Lenin wrote these words. That the epoch of bour-

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geois-democratic parliamentarism has ended, must be admitted by many of those who only a short while ago, were still passionate apologists of this veiled form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In the same convincing manner, history has furnished the confirmation that the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat has begun. Since Lenin's death, the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat has, under the leadership of Lenin's great disciple, Comrade Stalin, attained victories of world historic significance and has already begun the construction of the classless society. Also in China, on a sixth part of its territory, there has come into being, since Lenin's death, Soviet power as a form of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. This power has fortified itself, is defending itself victoriously against the sixth campaign of the Kuomintang, and has demonstrated that it is unconquerable.

As a result of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, through the unprecedented economic crisis, which has already lasted more than five years, there is also to be noted in other countries an increase, although irregular, of the revolutionary upsurge, as well as a steady increasing of the influence of the Communist Parties. But as a consequence of the steadily growing menace of the proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie of these countries has hurried, with the assistance of its social-democratic agency, to advance fascism as a preventive remedy against the proletarian revolution, and this under circumstances where the proletariat had been split by the treason of this social-democratic agency, and the Communist Parties, despite their growth, had not yet succeeded in winning the majority of the working class. Fascism, originating organically from the bourgeois-democracy of the post-war period, has spread widely. Today, all capitalist States have, to a greater or less extent, taken the road of fascization; and indeed, in a number of countries, there has even been established open fascist dictatorship.

These are the circumstances, new in comparison to 1917, in which in the capitalist world, the new revolutionary crisis is ripening. These are the circumstances, new in comparison to 1917, in which we are approaching the second round of revolutions and wars. The proletariat must get ready to overthrow by force the power of the bourgeoisie in a situation in which the bourgeois-democratic countries take to fascization, but above all, it faces the struggle for power in those countries where open fascist dictatorship rules. This brings about a change in the conditions of the struggle; it makes this struggle difficult, on the one hand, but not without simultaneously making it easier on the other, because fascism reveals day by day its helplessness to liquidate starvation and unemployment, and at the same time exposes itself more and more before the masses

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as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and unrestrained imperialist elements of finance capital, thereby giving rise to immense indignation among the masses.

In many respects also we have to direct the ideological struggle around our central slogan—the slogan of Soviet power—today and in the future, in quite a different form, against social-democrary, which, in fact is, passing through a crisis and is at present in most countries in a state of decomposition, but which represents now, as in the past, the main social support of the bourgeoisie.

In the period after the October Revolution, the revolutionary crisis which embraced all Europe, swept away two powerful monarchies—the Hohenzollern and the Hapsburg—and erected on their debris a number of democratic republics. In Germany, after the betrayal by social-democracy of the proletarian revolution, which had broken out spontaneously, there occurred the establishment of the Weimar republic. Thus, already at that time social-democracy functioned as a counter-revolutionary party, but it was still impregnated with the "democratic", *i.e.*, bourgeois-democratic, ideology, and practiced its counter-revolutionary deeds and intrigues under the slogan of defense of "democracy". Under the same slogan of defending democracy, it acted, like social-democracy in other countries, against the proletarian dictatorship established at that time in Russia. *From this dilemma—proletarian dictatorship or "pure democracy"—there flamed the ideological struggle between Lenin on one side, and the renegade Kautsky and his followers on the other.*

Since that time, the situation has changed, and in connection with it, social-democracy itself has also undergone an evolution. In connection with the process of fascization of the bourgeoisie, the social-democratic parties have been interwoven with the bourgeois State and have become everywhere social-fascist parties. They still adorn themselves with the threadbare gewgaw of bourgeois democracy, they still swear from time to time by democracy, but their whole ideology as well as their entire politics show more and more how impregnated they are with the elements of fascism. This process of fascization of social-democracy was especially hastened after the coming to power of Hitler and the establishing of fascist dictatorship in the heart of Europe, in Germany. In connection with the fascization of the bourgeoisie on the one hand and with the simultaneous ripening of the revolutionary crisis on the other, there is going on within social-democracy an internal process of decomposition. A number of social-democratic parties, for example, the Swedish, the Belgian, the Czechoslovakian parties, or sections that have split away from social-democratic parties (*e.g.*,

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the Renaudel-Deat group in France) are openly recoursing to fascism—to a "moderate" fascist regime. The parties, under the pressure of the masses which are becoming radicalized (the main kernel of the French Socialist Party with Blum, Paul Faure, Zyromski and others at the top), but especially the parties in those countries where recently the fascist dictatorship has been established and where the fascist governments refused any concessions to these parties (German and Austrian social-democracy)—these parties have recourse at present to all imaginable kinds of "Left" maneuvers, which does not hinder them, however, from becoming rapidly fascized in another, more hidden and veiled form.

The masses of workers who made up the following of social-democracy feel today disappointed by the "pure democracy" which they venerated after the war. The entire international social-democracy is rapidly being fascized. But in order not to lose the masses of their followers, it drapes this, its own evolution, with a mendacious cloak, and issues the slogan: "Back from democracy to socialism". In respect to this, there is an extremely crass and illuminating example furnished by the new allegedly "Left" foreign organ of German social-democracy, the *Neuer Vorwaerts*, which, for instance, in an editorial signed by Max Klinger (No. 30, January 7, 1934), defines its position with regard to the Congress of the Belgian Workers' Party which adopted the neo-fascist "labor plan" worked out by de Man, as the line for its practical work, not without Max Klinger simultaneously beating the drum about a "socialist renaissance". The writer of the editorial announces with great fanfare that international social-democracy, frightened by the experience of German social-democracy, which clung so long to national unity and to the defense of "pure democracy", and which is now seen standing before the debris of its castles in the air, has finally turned its glances toward the "pure socialist doctrine", toward the "socialist thought and action", and has inscribed the highly promising slogan, "Back to socialism" on its banner.

These are the new circumstances under which we have to conduct mass agitation for the central slogan issued by the Communist International—Soviet power. We must struggle against social-democracy no longer solely by contraposing to each other the slogans of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "pure democracy", but also by opposing the slogan "dictatorship of the proletariat" to the various neo-fascist slogans of social-democracy, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the various slogans which, under the guise of demagogic "Left" phrases, aim to divert the proletariat from the revolutionary struggle against fascism.

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The *ideological* struggle against the social-democratic parties and groups of the first category, the neo-fascists, is relatively easier, because they steer more openly towards their goal. As an instance, we refer to the resolution adopted by the last Congress of the Belgian Workers' Party. This resolution speaks of the necessity for a "decisive transformation of the entire economic system of the country", which is intended to lead to "the elimination of unemployment" by "increasing the buying power of the population", for which purpose the abolition of the private-monopolistic credit system would be necessary, that is—the "socialization of the credit system". This "socialization of the credit system" would make possible the "introduction of a planned economy". The party congress peddles this scheme of salvation and "appeals not only to the working class, but to all classes of the population stricken by the present economic disaster, to all, without distinction of party and religion, who have the good will to join this spirit of acting together". Furthermore, the party congress passed a resolution that "the party *through every constitutional means* has to take up at once the struggle for conquering power in order to realize this plan". Finally, the party congress declared that the party would not participate in any government not pursuing the aim of realizing this plan immediately. This is the new panacea of the Belgian socialists. Now the question arises: Is it difficult to prove that this "labor plan" is on the whole a genuine imitation of Hitler's plan to "rescue" Germany's economy from the crisis? Here as well as there, the usurious interest", the "slavery of interest" are denounced as the main evil; here as well as there the doing away with the "slavery of interest" will create the possibility of preserving capitalism and abolishing unemployment by "planning economy accordingly and increasing the buying power of the population"; here as well as there, *all classes* are appealed to for collaboration in the realization of this plan. There is only the one difference, that Monsieur de Man intends to realize this plan of fascizing the bourgeois dictatorship by preserving the parliamentary constitution, whereas Hitler realizes it under the regime of the open fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Against the open social-democratic neo-fascists, the *ideological* fight is relatively easy for proletarian masses who can look back somewhat to the traditions of the class struggle and who are undergoing today a process of radicalization. The fight against the social-fascists of "Left" coloring, however, requires a profounder mastery of Leninism, closer watchfulness and greater Marxist-Leninist *circumspection*. That is why we are going to deal in a more detailed manner with this "Left" category of imposters.

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There is first the Austrian social-democracy still draping itself with the threadbare democratic adornment.

The present editor of the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*, Herr Pollack, in the July, 1933, number of *Der Kampf*, in an article "Between Two Fascisms", has let the cat out of the bag by revealing the reason why and through what unhappy chance "Left" Austrian social-democracy has now taken a tactical turn. The Austrian Party, he explains, attempted to enter into negotiations with the fascist Dollfuss government. But the fascist government would naturally have considered every implication of the readiness of the party to negotiate as a sign of "weakness" (astonishing!) and would have responded to this offer "with new provocations". The result of these vain attempts to come to an understanding with Dollfuss was that they created "misunderstandings" among the comrades of the party themselves and weakened "their confidence in the fighting spirit of the party". "That is why," he proudly declares, "our party must declare with emphasis that it is not ready to negotiate as long as parliament and the constitution are eliminated", that is—"put on the shelf". How do these "heroes" intend to proceed at present; what attitude, furthermore, do they intend to take internationally, their capitulation having been rejected by the fascist dictator Dollfuss? On this score, we gather further details from Otto Bauer in an article published in the periodical *Der Kampf* entitled "German Fascism and the International" (August-September issue, 1933).

The German revolution of 1918 failed, he explains, because it could "not overpower capitalism". As a result, the masses, ruined by the crisis, today throw the blame for capitalism upon the German republic. Under these circumstances a bourgeois democracy in Germany is no longer possible, and the goal of the next proletarian revolution in Germany can no longer be the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy, but "it must be the political and socialist democracy". This had been the aim of the Independents in 1918, but the right social-democrats had been opposed to it, although it is still a question, according to Bauer, whether at that time, under the menace of French bayonets, the establishment of Socialism would have been possible in Germany. In another article, he says openly without mincing matters, that this was impossible. At all events, many workers would say today: if a new revolutionary wave in Germany "hurls" us into power, we must courageously lay the base for the foundation of socialist society. Only when we do this, "will democracy once more come into its own". But while doing so, can our slogan be the dictatorship of the proletariat? asks the writer, and he answers: no, this cannot be our slogan. Because the masses would take this slogan as a repetition of the "Russian experi-

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ment", and this would mean, not the overthrow of the unlimited power of the government, but the replacement of one dictatorship by another. Moreover, we will not be able to conquer, if the middle class standing today behind the fascists does not come over to our side; with this slogan, however, we shall not be able to draw to our side either the peasants who are afraid of collectivization or the intellectuals who have not yet forgotten the Bolshevik trials against the engineers. This slogan would only isolate the German working class. If the revolutionary crisis in Germany "hurls" us into power, we will not limit ourselves to the disarming of fascism, but we will also "with a few bold strokes" lay the foundation of Socialism. But as soon as we shall have fulfilled this task, we will realize "the free, democratic self-determination of the German people".

How and why the new revolutionary wave in Germany is going to "hurl" the bankrupt social-democracy into power—this secret Otto Bauer has not revealed to us. Nor will he reveal to us the secret why the 1918 program of Messrs. Haase and Kautsky conceived so as "not to harm" the bourgeoisie, turned out to be such a shameless fiasco; and how this program which was organically interwoven with the defense of "pure democracy" against the revolutionary actions of the proletariat, could suddenly become "an instrument of a socialist overthrow". Neither will he reveal to us the secret why, after the first "blows" administered by the "Red" social-democracy, the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie should suddenly quiet down and sleep peaceably on the bosom of democracy. He will not tell us at all why the peasants of the capitalist countries should be afraid of the collective farms, after the deepest roots of the pauperization of the rural districts have been eradicated in the Soviet Union, after the collective peasants in the Soviet Union have already become a firm bulwark of Soviet power and are on the road to prosperity. He will not tell us why the mass of ruined intellectuals, half of whom are unemployed, should still be afraid of the fate of the Russian intelligentsia, the vast majority of whom are aiding in the work of the Socialist construction, no longer out of fear, but in fulfilling a voluntary obligation.

We see that Otto Bauer twists the words "socialism" and "socialist overthrow" in all directions, but has not put his old "democratic" chatter on the shelf. But it is today extremely difficult, by such talk, to keep the masses who are doomed to ruin in a state of inactivity, on the borderline between fascism and Communism, which is really the aim of Bauer. The masses are already beginning to turn their back on social-democracy. That is why Max Adler, the "theoretician" of the Austrian social-democ-

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racy, felt obliged in the same periodical *Der Kampf* (October issue) to oppose Otto Bauer with a "sharply penetrating" theoretical foundation for a new and more "revolutionary" tactic. Max Adler who investigates the structural changes within the working class, makes the "great discovery" today that during the imperialist epoch there has arisen a stratum of labor aristocrats, and that the opportunistic tactics of German social-democracy which led to its bankruptcy reflected the mind of pracisely this labor aristocracy, whereby the Austrian "theoretician", having become "Left-radical", hastens to a justification of the opportunism of the German social-democratic leaders by asserting they had only reflected the spiritual condition of the sections of labor aristocrats who were back of them.

Another "discovery" made by Max Adler when investigating the structural changes within the working class is the origin of widespread chronic unemployment. If the industrial workers were behind the social-democrats, says he, the unemployed were behind the Communists, and as a consequence of these circumstances, the fatal split had deepened more and more. These unemployed as well as the proletarianized masses of the petty-bourgeoisie backing fascism today, declares Adler, are not accessible to any arguments by Otto Bauer. From the ruined masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, disappointed by the "pathos of democracy", have turned to fascism just because the spirit of "destruction" had awakened in them. They can only be drawn over to the side of the proletariat when we explain to them the "revolutionary historical force of the proletarian dictatorship" and show at the same time that this "dictatorship of the proletariat" can be realized only through uniting all workers with the proletarianized sections of the population in city and country.

The same spirit is expressed by the not unknown Theodor Dan in an article, "The Petty-Bourgeois Rebellion and the Proletariat", published in the August issue of *Der Kampf*. In such critical "epochs of transformation" as the present, he explains, a real alliance of the proletariat with the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie is thinkable only as a revolutionary pact, which, however, cannot be based on the partial demands corresponding to the interests of both these classes, but by comprehending these partial demands, under the idea of the necessity of a radical transformation of the whole system and "a complete overturn of the social pyramid".

There sails in the same stream a certain B. Br., who, in an article, "The Other Road" in No. 11 of the *Neuer Vorwaerts*, writes:

"This democracy turned out to be incapable of leading the way

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> in the period of the disintegration of capitalism to new forms of economy, because in the midst of the most painful struggles for existence it was abandoned by the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and sections of the proletariat . . . and here we reach the limits of democracy. . . . If development leads to an open fight of the oppressed masses against the brown Cæsarism, if they are victorious in a coming revolution, this revolution will have clear, *socialist* slogans which do not permit a return to Weimar. . . . Is there anyone who believes that this is possible without dictatorial measures? One may call it temporary dictatorship of the proletariat, extra-parliamentary measures, revolutionary democracy, or anything else. . . ."

Max Adler and Theodor Dan as well as the collaborator of the *Neuer Vorwaerts*, Herr B. Br., use a "terribly" revolutionary language. But at the same time, they have betrayed themselves altogether as mass impostors, who by their "Left" phrases try to keep the masses away from going over to the side of Communism, to keep them under the influence of the thoroughly decayed social-democracy. The "theoretician" Max Adler talks about the necessity of the "revolutionary" road not because *every* bourgeois State, be it democratic or fascist, represents by its class character the open or veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and, consequently, the proletarian revolution can, under *all* circumstances, be achieved only by the violent destruction of the entire military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeois State. Max Adler uses this language merely to give tongue to the mood of the petty-bourgeois masses who have been ruined by the crisis, and thereby have been infected with the spirit of "destruction". And that is why his pretended "revolutionary" conclusion is nothing but a demagogic swindle.

That this is a fact, results from the same article by Max Adler, which declares:

> "It is precisely the formal quality of democracy in the class State which makes it all the more necessary to fill its form with a proletarian content and to transform it thus into a fighting weapon of the working class, indeed, even to shape it into a means for the revolutionary transition, into the dictatorship of the proletariat."

As we see, the terrible word of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" means for Max Adler nothing else but the old "formal quality of democracy" (*i.e.*, the bourgeois State) filled with a proletarian content and used for the realization og Socialism. It finally turns out that the mountain has given birth to a mouse, that Max Adler despite all his "Left radicalism" did not at all think of giving up the fundamental position of social-democracy, but that he has merely adapted his phraseology to the mood of the masses, in order to keep

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them away from the truly revolutionary struggle against the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is therefore not surprising when, in the same article, he asserts that "Bolshevism *in the most extremely exceptional cases only constitutes a possible and successful movement of Marxist socialism*", *i.e.*, that Bolshevism under no circumstances can be of consideration for the "cultural" States of the west, but so to speak only for the "barbaric" Russia.

Theodor Dan still more definitely and skillfully absolves himself from blame in the July issue of *Der Kampf* in the article entitled "The German Catastrophe", by writing of the Communists:

> "One part of the organized working class [*i.e.*, the part following the Communist leadership] tried to *undermine* with suicidal intensity the republican democracy and is *directly responsible for preparing the road to fascism*, while at the same time another part of the working class [*i.e.*, that following the social-democratic leadership] correctly understood and appraised the democratic republic and yet *indirectly* aided the victory of the same fascism."

In exactly the same manner did the above-mentioned writer in the *Neuer Vorwaerts*, Mr. B. Br., absolve himself from blame. He discoursed on "dictatorial interference" *only* because all sections of the population (including the bourgeoisie, so beloved of social-democracy) forsook German social-democracy which was still clinging to the Weimar "democracy". For this reason, in the same article, he quickly exposed himself by the following.

> "The question takes on a different aspect in those countries that still preserve the political rights of human beings. There the struggle for democracy still retains its historical purpose."

From these quotations it is wholly obvious that the "Left-ized" Max Adler, just like his kindred spirit, the "Left-ized" Menshevik Theodore Dan, just like Mr. B. Br. of the *Neuer Vorwaerts*, uses right now "Left" phrases for one purpose—to hold back the masses by these means from the revolutionary struggle for a united front with the Communists, by the same token performing an indispensable service to fascism.

(*To Be Continued*)

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The Tasks of the Communist Sections Regarding Municipal Policy

Due to the great number of local elections taking place this year and also to the Congressional elections, we are reprinting below, as basic guiding material, the resolution on municipal policy adopted by the Enlarged Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in February, 1930—EDITORS.

1. Municipal work is a field in which the Communist Parties must strengthen their contacts with wide masses of workers. In view of the growing capitalist contradictions, the maturing general economic crisis, the enormous growth of unemployment, the rapid fascization of the bourgeois State apparatus, the capitalist offensive against wide sections of the working class and sections of the non-proletarian population in the field of municipal politics as well as in other fields, and the growing activity of the masses—a correct Communist municipal policy can and must be made to serve as a lever for the mobilization of the population from the influence of bourgeois parties, of fascism and social-fascism.

While in all other fields of activity (especially in the trade union field) the Communist Sections have already begun to alter their tactics to correspond with the new stage in the class struggle, as far as municipal activity is concerned, however, *hardly any of the Sections of the C.I. have brought about the change, nor, in the majority of cases, have they even begun to introduce it. More than that,* the municipal activity of the C.I. Sections bears the imprint of opportunism in practice, such as voting for municipal and police budgets, blocs with bourgeois parties (Czechoslovakia, France, etc.), unprincipled subordination to bourgeois law and order, opportunist practice frequently degenerating into actual corruption (Gaebel-Degner case in Berlin), and in all Sections of the C.I. provides a refuge for opportunist elements. *To bring about a decisive change in municipal activity is one of the most important general political tasks of the Sections of the C.I.*

2. This decisive change in municipal activity presupposes a *breach with social-democratic traditions regarding the role of municipalities* in the bourgeois State.

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> "The task of the proletariat is to *break up* the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, to destroy it, and with it also all parliamentary institutions, whether republican or constitutional-monarchist.
>
> "The same applies to bourgeois municipal institutions, and it would be wrong theoretically to draw a distinction between them and other organs of the State. They are, in fact, part and parcel of the bourgeois State which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local workers' councils." (Resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International: *The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism.*)

Consequently, it is wrong to demand that the bourgeois State power should concede "*complete* administrative and financial autonomy to the municipalities". (France.) To demand the extension of the right of self-government in accordance with the interests of the workers and peasants, or "election of municipal officials" (Finland) can only foster the democratic illusions of the masses. Municipalities as such cannot serve as an "instrument of proletarian class struggle" (Denmark).

3. Communists repudiate the attempts of the opportunists to draw a distinction in principle between private and State capitalist enterprises and municipal enterprises. The same methods of capitalist exploitation are employed in municipal enterprises as are employed in private enterprises. With the fascization of the capitalist State and municipal apparatus, municipal enterprises more and more become strongholds of fascism and social-fascism. Communists cannot demand "workers' control over municipal enterprises"; they can neither advance nor support the slogan of "municipalization of public utilities" (which, however, does not preclude Communists from voting against the transferring of municipal enterprises to private capital, provided they make it clear that a genuine struggle against the monopolist aspirations of the bourgeoisie can be carried on only in the form of a revolutionary struggle).

4. The change of tactics in the municipal field calls for ruthless struggle against opportunism in municipal practice of the Parties, first and foremost, the complete cessation of all cooperation whatsoever with the Social-Democratic Party. Communists must not enter into election alliances either with the social-democrats, or with other bourgeois parties. They must not vote for social-democratic mayors, town councillors, chairmen of town councils, etc. Working class majorities in municipal councils can be said to exist only where Communists alone, or workers and peasants pledged to work on the Communist platform and under Communist leadership have a majority.

5. The general line of the Communist Party in municipal work is to mobilize the toilers, primarily the working men and women

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employed in industry, for a revolutionary struggle against the prevailing capitalist system.

> "Where the Communists secure a majority in municipal councils, they must (a) form a revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois central authority; (b) do everything in their power to be of service to the poorest sections of the population (economic measures, organization or attempt at organization of an armed workers' militia, etc.); (c) to take advantage of every opportunity to show how the bourgeois State authority puts obstacles in the way of every really important reform; (d) to utilize this for strenuous revolutionary propaganda, not shrinking from conflicts with the State authority; (e) under certain circumstances (in an acutely revolutionary situation) to replace the local self-government organs by local workers' councils. Thus, the work of the Communists on municipal bodies must form part of their work for the disintegration of the capitalist State." (Resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International: *The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism.*)

The Communists must use the municipal, as they do the parliamentary, bodies as a platform for mobilizing the masses for the revolutionary struggle.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. places on record that the Communist Parties have made very little use of the municipal platform for the organization of the mass struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascist reaction. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the Communist fractions on town councils have shown inadmissible passivity during the political campaigns of the Party and during mass movements in general.

In every campaign the Party carries on—against the war danger, against fascist and social-fascist terror, against mass dismissals, for carrying on economic or political strikes, etc.—the municipal platform must be utilized for the purpose of explaining to the masses the Party slogans, to mobilize them for supporting the Party campaigns. Municipal councillors must at the same time be the principal Party agitators, the initiators in calling mass meetings, where they, as representatives of the workers, must show the connection between the class struggle in the country and the struggle around municipal questions in the given locality.

Especially in periods of illegality municipal posts must be used for continuing Party work.

In municipal election campaigns, Communists must put forward before the masses an extensive program of partial demands, but they must not put forward such partial demands as are likely to foster democratic illusions among the masses.

Every Communist Party must draw up a program of action of its own around which it must mobilize the workers. In this

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municipal program, attention must be drawn first of all to the following partial demands:

(a) To lead the struggle of the workers against fascism of all shades, to organize proletarian self-defense corps in opposition to the fascist and social-fascist shock troops, etc.

(b) Systematic campaign against imperialist war and all war measures against the U.S.S.R., against billeting (of soldiers) and against the municipalities rendering assistance in recruiting: to establish connections with working class and peasant soldiers and sailors outside as well as within the given municipal area (by the system of "patronage") and to support their struggles against the drill sergeant regime.

(c) To render assistance to the workers in their political and economic struggles by making grants to strike funds, giving financial support to strikers and locked out workers, organization of free meals for strikers and their families, playgrounds, kindergartens and creches for all workers' children, etc.

(d) Wide support for unemployed, by exempting them from payment for municipal services, special grants for their support, the money for this purpose to be raised by increasing the taxes of the bourgeoisie, exemption of unemployed from paying rent to big house owners; organization of public works for the purpose of providing employment such as hospitals, workmen's dwellings, etc., wages to be paid at not less than the customary rates in the given industry.

(e) It is particularly important to exert every effort on municipal councils to enforce the class principle in municipal taxation, *i.e.*, to raise the taxes of the propertied classes, especially of the wealthiest stratum, to reduce the share of taxes to be paid by the workers and other toilers, to completely exempt low paid workers and the disabled from taxation, etc. In this connection, revolutionary workers' representatives should not shrink from disregarding bourgeois laws and regulations.

(f) Introduction of the 7-hour day and one-month annual leave for all workers (manual and non-manual) employed in municipal enterprises, four months' leave in connection with pregnancy, payment of all social insurance contributions from municipal funds.

(g) Support for workers' mass organizations, cultural and educational organizations, sport leagues, freethinkers, etc.; support for proletarian organizations like the I.R.A. and W.I.R. by the municipality affiliating to the organizations.

(h) In countries where there are national minorities, an energetic struggle must be carried on against any oppression of these national minorities, for the right of these national minorities to employ their own language in the conduct of the business of municipal institu-

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tions, for officially recognized schools where all subjects are taught in the language of the national minorities without control by priests and other reactionaries, and for the establishment of educational institutions capable of satisfying the political and cultural requirements of the national minorities.

(i) To fight for the provision of facilities and equipment to serve the cultural requirements of young men and women workers, to fight against all institutions which corrupt the minds of the working class youth.

(j) To establish fraternal relations with municipal councils in the Soviet Union; to send delegates to the Soviet Union to study the working of the Five-Year Plan and Socialist construction; to expose the slanders spread about the Soviet Union by the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists.

(k) These general principles of Communist municipal policy must be supplemented by suitable demands for women workers, workingmen's wives, agricultural laborers and poor peasants (prohibition of distraint, free use of meadows and forests, remission of taxes for all persons in poor circumstances, poor lower middle class), etc. These demands must be adapted to the concrete conditions prevailing in the particular country and municipality.

6. The *municipal program* of the Sections of the C. I. must be so constructed that, firstly, it will contain concrete immediate demands, which can be understood by the broad masses and will mobilize them for the struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party; secondly, that the program should continue to be sharply directed against unprincipled adaptations to bourgeois legality, and thirdly, these partial demands must be linked up with those basic demands which the Communist Party, as the Party of the working class, will carry out after it has seized power. It must be systematically explained to the workers and other oppressed strata of the population that the achievement of one or two partial demands cannot greatly improve their position.

In the midst of the rapidly rising revolutionary tide, when growing masses of workers are realizing that there is no other way out of the threatening catastrophe than the proletarian revolution, one of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is to popularize the municipal policy of the U.S.S.R. and its results (expropriation of the landlords and capitalists), deprivation of the propertied class of the right to participate in municipal activity; transference of the houses of the bourgeoisie to the workers, the class principle in taxation policy, preference to working class districts in connection with all municipal improvements and works, extensive assistance for the unemployed, free education, utilization by the workers of cultural

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institutions, which were formerly the privilege of the bourgeoisie.

7. The activities of Communist municipal functionaries must conform to the above-mentioned tasks. Hitherto, however, the keynote of their activity has been, as a rule, unprincipled subordination to bourgeois laws and regulations, and frequently, concern for the preservation of their, in most cases, well-paid posts.

In all municipal councils where the Communists have a majority, they must fight for the application of the Party's municipal program, not hesitating to come into conflict with the government. Such conflicts, the inevitability of which must be clearly recognized by the Communist Parties, must be used by our Parties to expose before the masses the reactionary character of the capitalist government system, and for mobilizing the broad masses (demonstrations, protest strikes, etc.) in defense of the activity of Communist town councils.

8. One of the principal defects in the municipal work of the Communist Parties has been their inadequate connection with the current actions and slogans of the Party, their isolation from mass work, especially from work in the factories. Municipal demands are generally drawn up "from above" without discussion at workers' meetings. Communists must link up the proposals of their municipal fractions with their factory agitation, must bring them up for discussion at factory meetings, unemployed meetings, as well as at the meetings of the mass organizations. The municipal functionaries must report on their activity at similar meetings. Only such a radical change in our municipal work on these lines can bring Communists into close contact with the masses. The masses must undertake control over the activities of Communist municipal fractions and municipal representatives. For this purpose factory, trade union, and unemployed, etc., meetings must be organized before every important action that is to be taken up in the municipal councils. All the chief municipal demands must be included in the election platform of the trade union opposition. The factory newspapers must give systematic publicity to the activity of the Communist fractions in the town council and also its struggle with the bourgeois-social-democratic bloc. Various Communist councillors must be attached to large factories, unemployed committees and mass organizations. On the other hand, the workers in large enterprises, unemployed committees and mass organizations must elect delegates and attach them as advisors to the muncipal fractions. Mass work organized in this manner, continuous self-criticism, and a firm, systematic strengthening of contacts with the masses will create a firm base for the revolutionary activity of the Communist municipal workers.

9. No change can take place in the municipal activity of the

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Communist Parties unless a change is made in the composition of the fractions and in the methods of leadership of municipal activity by the Party.

In order to purge the Communist fractions from opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements, their mistakes must be openly pointed out, their opportunist conduct must be exposed to the workers. The backbone of the fractions must consist of factory workers, especially workers from large enterprises, and not of the so-called "municipal specialists" among whom there are to be found so many opportunist and directly hostile elements. When drawing up lists of candidates, only absolutely (politically) reliable and politically conscious men and women workers and young workers should be put up. Municipal election campaigns and the municipal activity as a whole must be utilized for the purpose of drawing broad masses of women into the revolutionary movement.

Courses of municipal politics should be held systematically for the education of municipal functionaries.

10. In most cases municipal fractions work without systematic control on the part of Party organs. Certain C. I. Sections have still failed to set up municipal departments at headquarters or district municipal departments to control the work of Party fractions on municipal councils. The fractions and municipal functionaries must be under the regular guidance of the Party organs. The establishment of authoritative municipal departments in central and district committees, the appointment of truly Bolshevik workers as functionaries of these departments and publicity in the Party press dealing with local affairs in order to support and control municipal activity are necessary prerequisites for a successful fight against opportunism in practice.

The attempts being made by the opportunists to unite Communist municipal functionaries separately (Leagues of Communist Municipal Representatives) for independent elaboration and carrying through of the municipal policy without the guiding control of the Party must be energetically opposed.

11. The turn in municipal policy will encounter strong opposition from all opportunist elements in the Party; but the Communist Party must not only concede no ground in carrying out the new municipal tactics, but, on the contrary, it must use every act of sabotage and opposition by the opportunist elements to mobilize the Party and working masses against them, so that the Party must be able in case of necessity to remove such elements from its ranks without damage. The struggle against municipal legalism, which is one of the most dangerous forms of opportunism, must be carried on absolutely relentlessly.

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12. The turn towards a revolutionary municipal policy implies also energetic struggle against "*Left*" deviations (boycott of municipal elections, boycott of municipal work, *refusal* to occupy municipal posts, etc., underestimation of municipal work for the mobilization of the masses, the *substitution* of the mobilization of the masses on a concrete program by a partial program of "Left" phrases about the revolution in municipal affairs after the proletariat has seized power, etc.). Communists in all countries, "democratic" and fascist alike, must participate in municipal elections wherever there is an opportunity, in order to mobilize the masses and to enable the revolutionary masses to express their will in some form or other against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents in the working class — the social-democrats.

For a Bolshevik municipal policy. Under this slogan the Communist Parties must effect the turn towards and most mobilize the rank and file of the Party for the application of the new line. Municipal work must be the work of the whole Party. Like trade union work and work in the other mass organizations, municipal work is part of the general work of the Party to bring to the knowledge of the masses the principles and aims of the Communist Parties, and to mobilize them for the achievement of their principles and aims. A correctly applied revolutionary municipal policy will become a powerful lever for winning the masses for the proletarian revolution.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The central task of the Party is to organize and lead the fight against the offensive of the capitalist class, against developing fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and to develop these struggles, on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers, into general class battles for the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship and the setting up of a Soviet government. This requires a quickening of the tempo and improvement in the quality of the work of the Party, to fight for winning the majority of the working class by more quickly carrying through the decisions of the Open Letter with regard to rooting the Party among the basic strata of the proletariat, in the most important industries and factories, through the application of the policy of concentration. (From the Resolution of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., contained in *The Way Out*—A Program for American Labor.)

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Figures on the American Economic Crisis

As of June, 1934

By JOHN IRVING *and* PHIL MAYER

(*Labor Research Association*)

OUR "Figures on the American Economic Crisis" did not appear in the August issue of *The Communist*. They did not appear because by the time the statistics on the per capita weekly earnings of factory workers, for the month of May, which make up our Table 4, became available, *The Communist* had gone to press.

We recite this apparently trivial incident for two reasons: In the first place, in the past few months, government statistics, which make up all but one of our tables of figures, have been increasingly delayed in coming. Thus, for instance, at the time of this writing, August 13, the statistics on industrial disputes (Table 5) are not yet available for the month of May. Should they not appear within the next few days, the September issue of *The Communist* will carry the strike figures as of last April! So long as government figures are so much delayed as at present, our tables will be forced to carry figures that are from two to three months behind the publication date of *The Communist*.

The second reason for the recital of this incident may appear to involve a personal boast, but it is not that. Our comments, which we prepared for the August issue of *The Communist*, but which

TABLE 1 — PRODUCTION [1]

The Field	1934			July			
	July	June	May	1933	1932	1931	1929
General Index	72	77	80	90	60	83	117
Steel ingot prod.	41	77	78	93	23	54	145
Pig iron prod.	41	65	63	64	20	51	134
Cotton consumption	78	69	92	138	64	98	112
Automobile prod.	70	71	70	68	32	60	137
Lumber prod.	—	48	52	71	39	65	142
Cement prod.	—	53	53	56	51	91	118

(1) The *Annalist* Index of Business Activity. "Normal", that is, the computed long-time trend, with the seasonal variations eliminated, equals 100 per cent. The index given here should be thought of as percentages of this "normal".

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came too late to be included in that issue (to be exact, the manuscript bears the date of July 26), concluded with the following remarks: "May we venture the prediction that commodity prices will be lower this fall than they were this past spring, unless Roosevelt hastens with further devaluation of the dollar? It cannot be long before a spectacular display of the use of the *permissive* legislation for remonetizing silver will be spread across the front pages of the daily press. It will be our next shot in the arm. But the further devaluation of the dollar through the increase of the price of gold to $41 an ounce and to $50 soon after is not far off. It may become necessary even before Congress meets in January."

We record this fact as one more instance of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the American capitalist crisis. We record it also as still representing our conclusions as to the present status of the crisis, now supported by the reaction of the bond market to the steps taken by the Roosevelt government towards the remonetization of silver. The inflationary effects, as expected, were violent, but temporary. To sustain them, the remonetization of silver alone will not suffice. Not enough silver certificates can be issued on the

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TABLE 2—EMPLOYMENT [1]

THE FIELD	1934			June			
	June	May	April	1933	1932	1931	1929
A. *Mfg. Indust.* (1923-25=100)							
Gen. Index (90 Ind.)	81[2]	82	82	67	61	78	106
Iron and steel	79	77	73	55	51	70	106
Elec. mach., appar. & supp.	66	65	64	48	58	83	132
Foundry & mach. shop prod.	73	74	72	49	49	72	115
Automobiles	106[2]	114	115	58	67	77	118
Steam railroad rep. shops	59	59	57	47	51	64	82
Cotton goods	94	101	103	90	56	76	97
Knit goods	111	114	115	105	88	97	112
Silk and rayon goods	75	73	78	73	50	80	104
Woolen and worsted goods	70	75	75	85	45	72	83
Men's clothing	82	82	88	80	64	83	105
Women's clothing	113	127	132	113	107	135	145
Boots and shoes	87	91	92	84	76	85	92
Slaught. and meat pkg.	101	97	92	83	79	84	96
B. *Non-Mfg. Ind.* (1929=100)							
Anthracite mining	58	64	58	40	53	76	93
Bituminous mining	77	77	72	61	61	78	95
Telephone and telegraph	70	70	70	69	80	87	102
Power and light	84	83	82	77	83	97	101
Retail trade	88	89	88	78	79	89	97
Stm. railroads (1923-25=100)	—	—	57	54	58	73	96

(1) Compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, except steam railroads (non-mfg.), which is compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission.
(2) Preliminary.

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basis of the available amount of silver to make an appreciable effect on the total amount of currency in circulation (in spite of the governmental grab of 79 cents on every 100 cents of silver money). But as a step in the wider and inevitable inflationary policy which is one of the capitalist methods of solving the crisis, this silver program must have a very unfavorable effect, in fact is already exerting that effect, on the credit of the government. Heavy liquidation of government bonds has taken place following the proclamation of the "nationalization" of silver, in spite of the manipulative operations of government agencies acting in the market for the Federal Treasury Department. And, as the government credit becomes further impaired, further inflation becomes a necessity. The Administration must raise ever larger amounts of money to meet its current expenses as the value of its money cheapens. The owner class will not let itself be taxed further to raise funds for the government. The capitalists will have the government raise these funds by further robbing of the workers, by depressing their real wages through inflation. At the present juncture of the crisis in the U.S.A., this means a further artificial increase of the price of gold, of which we have spoken above.

TABLE 3—PAYROLLS [1]

THE FIELD	1934			June			
	June	May	April	1933	1932	1931	1929
A. Mfg. Ind. (1923-25=100)							
Gen. Index (90 Ind.)	65[3]	67	67	47	43	70	111
Iron and steel	69	66	59	35	23	56	115
Elec. mach., appar. and supp.	52	50	48	32	36	71	141
Foundry & mach. shop prod.	56	57	54	31	30	58	123
Automobiles	89[3]	100	107	46	50	59	66
Steam railroad rep. shops	54	54	53	37	40	62	90
Cotton goods	65	80	86	61	33	64	91
Knit goods	100	106	109	79	66	95	130
Silk and rayon goods	59	56	63	48	30	68	108
Woolen and worsted goods	50	54	55	62	28	99	81
Men's clothing	55	53	61	42	29	62	101
Women's clothing	73	89	99	57	61	99	133
Boots and shoes	71	78	82	63	51	72	92
Slaught. and meat pkg.	87	81	76	65	66	84	102
B. Non-Mfg. Ind. (1929=100)							
Anthracite mining	53	64	52	34	37	67	81
Bituminous mining	55	54	51	29	27	52	90
Telephone and telegraph	71	71	69	67	82	95	100
Power and light	78	78	77	70	81	98	100
Retail trade	72	72	72	61	68	88	99
Steam railroads[2]	$—	$—	$123	$117	$126	$183	$246

(1) See footnote, Table 2, Employment.
(2) In million dollars.
(3) Preliminary.

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All this lies on the surface of the facts of the crisis as they have evolved in the past few weeks.

As we were emphatic in declaring in our May and June comments, the rate of production of the earlier months of the year was pointing to a serious decline for the summer months. This decline came sharp and precipitous towards the end of June. Steel shipments in July were but 37 per cent of those for June; the weekly business index of the *New York Times* recorded, in the week ending July 7, the sharpest drop for any single week since the index was compiled (in 1919). That index (as of August 4) stands 10.4 points below a year ago. Steel operations for the current week (August 13), are running at 22.3 per cent of capacity, 13.6 per cent below the preceding week, and the lowest level in more than a year. (See *Steel and Metal Notes*, August, issued by Labor Research Assn.) *

This decline in general production is, of course, reflected in the decline in employment and payrolls. Characteristically, greater decline is already being reported for payrolls than for employment.

* Since this was written, the *Annalist* index for July has been made available. It shows a drop of 4.6 points from that of June.

TABLE 4—PER CAPITA WEEKLY EARNINGS [1]

THE FIELD	1934		May		
	May	April	1933	1932	1931
A. *Mfg. Industries*					
Average (90 Ind.)	$19.81	$19.96	$17.40	$18.69	$23.88
Iron and steel	23.60	22.19	16.02	14.93	25.03
Elec. mach., appar. and supp.	21.15	20.86	20.48	20.66	27.53
Foundry & mach. shop prod.	21.36	21.08	16.26	17.61	24.27
Automobiles	24.66	26.33	23.45	24.99	30.37
Steam railroad rep. shops	25.13	25.61	22.21	24.07	28.20
Cotton goods	12.63	13.41	10.40	10.18	14.36
Knit goods	15.75	16.02	12.65	12.44	16.98
Silk and rayon goods	14.55	15.12	12.20	12.31	17.85
Woolen and worsted goods	16.35	17.06	15.14	14.98	20.59
Men's clothing	15.51	16.38	11.65	12.16	16.69
Women's clothing	17.65	18.99	14.86	16.87	23.77
Boots and shoes	17.43	18.27	13.73	13.63	18.63
Slaught. and meat pkg.	21.18	20.83	20.00	22.61	25.79
B. *Non-Mfg. Industries*					
Anthracite mining	29.27	25.85	20.20	25.19	27.50
Bituminous mining	18.27	18.24	11.41	12.95	17.03
Telephone and telegraph	27.01	26.15	26.43	27.62	29.09
Power and light	29.39	29.66	28.65	31.50	31.50
Retail trade	19.74	19.80	18.96	21.18	23.64
Steam railroads [2]	——	121.00	122.00	121.00	140.00

(1) U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
(2) Per capita monthly earnings, computed from figures of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

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For the manufacturing industries, the employment index between May and June declined from 82 to 81, while that for payrolls declined from 67 to 65. The indexes for July for the country as a whole are not yet available, but for the State of New York factory employment in July declined 1.4 per cent and payrolls, 2.2 per cent.*

The growing curtailment of mass consumption, repeatedly noted in these articles and in the L. R. A.'s *Economic Notes* is, under the circumstances, becoming accelerated, even as measured in dollar

* Since this was written, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor has announced a decline of 3 per cent in employment and 6.8 per cent in payrolls from June to July for the country as a whole.

TABLE 5—NUMBER AND EXTENT OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS [1]

THE FIELD	Number of Disputes	Number of Workers Involved	Number of Man-Days Lost
1934:			
May	135	143,671	3,477,893
April	164	159,664	2,937,515
March	134	87,497	1,091,023
February	73	69,834	789,553
January	70	38,311	1,926,035
December, 1933	56	20,832	338,746
May:			
1933	140	44,589	664,689
1932	79	43,403	1,220,202
1931	115	28,000	400,509
1930	66	9,329	185,448
1929	98	26,220	1,578,929

(1) *Partial figures* compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, as of the beginning of the month.

TABLE 6—COMMODITY PRICES AND COST OF LIVING

THE FIELD	1934			June			
	June	May	April	1933	1932	1931	1929
A. *Wholesale Prices*							
Combined Index (784)[1]	75	74	73	65	64	72	95
B. *Retail Prices*							
Food [1]	67	67	66	60	62	53	62
Dept. Store Index [2]	88	89	89	72	75	92	—
C. *Cost of Living* [3]	76	76	75	70	74	83	99
D. *Agricultural* [4]							
Farm prices	77	74	74	64	52	80	135
Prices paid by farmers	122	121	120	103	110	130	154

(1) Wholesale prices (1926=100) and retail food prices (converted from 1913=100 to 1926=100) compiled by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
(2) Fairchild's combined index of department store articles (Dec. 1930=100).
(3) National Industrial Conference Board's combined cost of living index (converted from 1923=100 to 1926=100).
(4) U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics' indexes (Aug. 1909—July 1914=100).

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volume (when prices are so much higher now than a year ago). *Dollar* volume of department store sales in July was 72 per cent of the 1923-25 average, as compared with 74 per cent in June and 77 per cent in May. Compared with a year ago, the July volume was only 3 per cent higher while prices of these articles are over 22 per cent above those of last year (June to June). In the rural districts, in communities of less than 30,000 population, daily average sales of general merchandise suffered a decline of 15.5 per cent in dollar volume between June and July.

Current tendencies are, therefore, toward a renewed weakening in the price structure. With the sharp curtailment in industrial production and, therefore, in industrial payrolls, and with the "blessing" (see Secretary Wallace) of the drought visited upon millions of small farmers and farm laborers, a new wave of deflation is imminent. In spite of a speculative rise in agricultural prices, the farmers will be the poorer by hundreds of millions of dollars this fall than they were a year ago. Hence the capitalist need for the inflationary moves discussed above.

TABLE 7—CONSUMPTION [1]

THE FIELD	1934			May			
	May	April	Mar.	1933	1932	1931	1929
Dept. store sales [2]	75	77	77	67	73	97	109
Dept. store stocks [2]	66	65	65	55	68	83	99
Chain store sales [3]	85	86	88	78	87	—	—
Variety store sales [4]	90	87	95	78	83	97	109
Mail order and store sales (in million dollars)	51	46	44	38	39	50	55
Exports [2]	45	50	50	32	37	57	108
Imports [2]	47	42	44	32	34	55	122

(1) Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce, except chain store sales (19 companies), which is the index of *Chain Store Age*. All indexes based on *dollar sales*.
(2) 1923-25=100. Index for June, 1934, is 73.
(3) Average same month 1929-31=100.
(4) 1929-31=100. Index for June, 1934, is 91.

TABLE 8—DOMESTIC COMMODITY STOCKS ON HAND [1]
(1923-25=100)

THE FIELD	1934			June			
	June	May	April	1933	1932	1931	1929
All Stocks	132	136	142	134	137	134	120
A. *Manufactured Gds.* (All)	108	108	109	101	104	117	122
Chemical products	110	117	123	107	118	122	117
Food products	95	84	81	109	98	106	125
Iron and steel	115	105	104	104	103	137	145
Textiles	164	163	167	105	79	91	124
B. *Raw Materials* (All)	149	157	166	159	161	146	119
Foodstuffs	162	171	182	189	168	178	167
Metals	97	93	98	84	123	128	94
Textile materials	183	198	213	183	207	149	80

(1) Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce.

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MARX AND THE EAST, *by L. G. Safarov.* Workers' Library Publishers, New York, 64 pages, ten cents.

Reviewed by R. DOONPING

THIS pamphlet, small and convenient in form and very substantial in content, is the best available single volume that gives a comprehensive survey of Marxism and the colonial and national question. Its scope is much broader than the title indicates. The author very effectively contrasts the revolutionary analysis of Marx and Engels on the problems of India, China, Ireland, Russia, and the American Civil War and the shameful social-imperialist and social-fascist attitude of the Second International on the colonial and national question. In discussing the relation between Marx's contribution on the national and colonial question and its subsequent ideological and political development, Comrade Safarov states very clearly:

> "The formulation by Marx of the problem of the non-capitalist, *i.e.*, Socialist development of the backward nations, helped the victory of the October Revolution on the basis of an alliance of the vanguard proletariat with the peoples of the East who had been liberated from the yoke of imperialism . . . This idea, lifted to the highest level by the Soviet movement, sowed the Soviet seeds on colonial soil. Under its powerful influence, there appeared in the world new nations of the Soviet type, new Soviet national States, new currents of culture—national in form, Socialist in content, new national forms of the construction of Socialism."

Safarov then discusses the further development of this idea, or the Marxian teachings on the national-colonial revolution, under new conditions, by Lenin and Stalin.

The pamphlet fills an important gap in our literature, and answers a real demand. In spite of the growing interest of the American revolutionary movement in the national-colonial question, the theoretical understanding of the problem still seems to be the low water mark of the political development of the American masses. Yet the colonial and national question is of the

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utmost importance to the American masses, not only because of intimate relations between American imperialism and the enslavement of the colonial masses in Latin America and China, Hawaii and the Philippines, but also because the Negro question in the United States is a struggle of the Negro masses for national liberation. A proper understanding of the Negro problem in the United States presupposes a thorough knowledge of the contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on the national and colonial question, the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union, and the experiences of the Chinese Revolution—all of which are summarized and ably discussed in this pamphlet.

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